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ABSTRACT

This document contains six chapters that examine the role of teacher leadership in the school-restructuring process. Chapter 1, "When--Teachers Lead" (Bruce S. Cooper), provides a general introduction to the content and purpose of the monograph. Chapter 2, "When--Teachers Share School-Level Decision-Making" (Sharon Conley and Justo Robles), explores the role of teachers in helping to manage individual schools in an organizational context of collective bargaining, conflict, and coalition behavior. Chapter 3, "When--Teachers Run Schools" (Bruce S. Cooper), examines teachers in the role of administrators. The role of teachers in redesigning and restructuring schools is explored in the fourth chapter, "When--Teachers Re-design Schools around Teaching" (Roberta Trachtman). Chapter 5, "When--Teachers are School-District Decision Makers" (Mark A. Smylie), focuses on the whole school organization and the districtwide role of teachers as part of system decision making. The final chapter, "When Is Now: A Plan of Action" (Ann Weaver Hart), integrates the major themes of this monograph--including teachers as local decision makers, school leaders, and districtwide policy makers--and examines the implications for school administration. References accompany each chapter. (LMI)

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WHEN TEACHERS LEAD

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MONOGRAPH SERIES
UNIVERSITY COUNCIL FOR
EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

WHEN TEACHERS LEAD

UCEA MONOGRAPH SERIES

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FOREWORD

Site-based management, alternative forms of school governance, different patters of decision making, and school restructuring are popular innovations in the reform literature. However, their meanings vary ranging from relatively traditional modifications in school relationships and operations to serious challenges toast and current practice. Sufficient trials are now under way to further our understanding of what happens when teachers, administrators, parents, students, school boards, and unions respond to the challenge to invent and reinvent the dimensions and elements of professional practice. This monograph is about those experiences.

The authors tell stories rich with texture that highlight the issues, concerns problems, and possibilities that emerged as educational professionals engaged in efforts to redesign their work. You will find these accounts fascinating. Then, the authors use multiple frameworks to generate interesting and provocative interpretations. They demonstrate changes in relationships and processes that accompanied redesign efforts and draw out the implications for how we think about leadership, the work of teachers and administrators, collective negotiations, and the professional preparation of administrators and teachers. Each chapter provides a thoughtful, perceptive portrait of critical aspects of the process of school restructuring.

Terry A. Astuto
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Guest Editor

4 A

Teacher Leadership—long in coming, but coming on strong . . .

CHAPTER 1

When—Teachers Lead

Bruce S. Cooper
Fordham University

Teachers are flexing their muscles, expanding their interests, and taking on roles and responsibilities unheard of fifteen years ago. One sometimes gets the sense of the nation's largest profession, a restless giant, searching for outlets for its creativity and energy. Since school system leaders—administrators and supervisors—may ask where all this new-found power will lead, this monograph looks at the answers, examining the roles of teachers beyond pedagogy and the classroom. Teachers have evidently become a force to influence school and school district policy, curriculum and instruction, administration, and school organization.

Perhaps this expansion into new, uncharted areas was inevitable given the rising stability, maturity, and training of the teaching corps in the United States. For the first time in American history, teaching has become a life-long profession for an increasing number of people, not a temporary way-station between school and other jobs, school and marriage. The average age of teachers in this nation has increased one year, every year, since 1970: from 24 to 46 years of age (Auriemma, Cooper, and Smith, 1992). Simultaneously, teachers have begun to compare themselves to the "higher professions," such as medicine, law, and engineering, where pay is good, prestige is high, and influence is great.

Furthermore, in a climate of concern for our national future and international competitiveness, we have come to accept that teachers are critical to school productivity and reform. They are the key "providers" of education—professionals who have often been simply ignored or until recently blamed for the nation's education failures. Susan Moore Johnson (1990), for example, has eloquently written that "analysts often portray teachers as powerless and disenfranchised, the underlings of the educational enterprise: while others "argue that teachers and their unions dictate far too much in the schools" (p. 180). Either way, recent growth in teachers' power and responsibilities presents real challenge to school leadership: a complex mix of organizational power and marginality, involvement and indifference, colleagueship and stubborn independence, engagement and isolation.

While recent attempts to improve the lot of the nation's 2.5 million

teachers have often been piecemeal, limited, and poorly conceived, a few changes bear watching. In particular, local school authorities have sought to bring teachers formally into school governance, decision-making, and operations as never before. This formal engagement differs considerably from the usual "consultation" and "delegation" that leaders have previously offered up to teachers. Now, teachers are being duly elected to serve on school-site management teams, sometimes sanctioned by state policy. Take, for example, New York state's New Compact for Learning and Chicago's radical school reform program. Both stipulate that teachers will be duly elected by colleagues to serve on school site management teams as in New York and Local School Councils (Hess, 1991) as in Chicago (under an Illinois law). Teachers are sitting alongside superintendents and school board members, parents and principals in making key decisions for the entire system and are assuming full leadership of school sites and programs.

The problem with many of these involvement schemes, however, has been their inconsistency, uncertainty, and lack of tangible results. For example, Duke and colleagues (1981) found a general interest in participation among teachers in the Bay Area of San Francisco but also a fear of cooptation, over-work, and lack of real impact among teachers. Most teachers really did not want full partnerships in running their schools. Johnson in her study of teachers in the work place, found that indeed

> public-school teachers did participate in decision making, but the majority exerted their influence *intermittently* and *informally* rather than through systematic and sustained procedures. Over the years many had held positions in school governance—in advisory committees, school councils, faculty senates, or teacher unions—but they generally believed that their efforts had come to little. (p. 181, emphases added)

Little research to date shows that teacher activism improves school performance, though certainly it may.

Thus, the rhetoric of change, of "restructuring," and of "empowerment" is palpable but the reality for most teachers is a quiet career in the classroom. Hence, the fundamental role of the "typical" teacher and the usual tasks of teaching have changed little despite the Progressive era, the growth of comprehensive schools, the union movement in education, the technological revolution, and recent school restructuring efforts. For all the talk, teaching still remains, as Lortie (1975, p. 85) so aptly explained fifteen-plus years ago, a profession with "unstaged" entry (one is simply a teacher without a real internship, residency, junior grade status, and official initiation into the "higher" ranks), with relatively few real career opportunities short of leaving the classroom, and "front-loaded with pay and prestige" and

increasing less and less each year. In lost income and lost opportunity, teaching ranks high. After eight to twelve years, teachers reach the top of the "pay scale" and have no where to "go." Their career trajectory is all but flat, and most lose ground in real lost income over the latter part of their tenure.

Teachers have traditionally "escaped" from the boredom, repetition, and tedium of classroom isolation by quitting the profession for another or staying home and raising a family—still the dominant destination for teachers leaving the field. They get themselves "promoted" up and out of teaching into administration, a favored career path until recently of not a few male teachers. By assuming leadership in their union, teachers can pursue a career in the education "labor movement." Significantly in the last decade or less, an increasing number of teachers have enlivened their careers by "sharing" authority for school decision-making with management by joining a school-site decision making team, working on district-wide governance committees, or differentiating their roles and becoming quasi-administrators of special programs, without officially leaving the teaching ranks.

These last three models of "upward" mobility for teachers have been discussed off and on but rarely in one place, carefully, comprehensively, and comparatively. Perhaps by putting these "models" of teacher leadership in one place, subjecting them to careful scrutiny, comparing them, and seeing how they affect school decision making and teacher preparation in universities, we can begin to understand the "teacher leadership movement" in the United States.

This UCEA monograph seeks to cover all three leadership roles for teachers. Sharon Conley and Justo Robles in chapter two explore *the role of teachers in helping to manage individual schools* in an organizational context of collective bargaining, conflict, and coalition behavior. These authors view school site management through the "eyes" of *teacher union leaders* who must somehow balance the union's responsibility to "protect" the contract and union members while also encouraging teachers to share in critical decisions—and thus to "join" the power structure of the school. Conley and Robles detected a rising struggle among teacher union members over terms of employment versus members' desires to waive, circumvent, or ignore the conditions of the teachers' union contract. This internecine struggle may be replacing more traditional labor-management stand-offs, marking a new era in the behavior of teachers outside their traditional pedagogical role.

Bruce Cooper in chapter three examines the role of teacher in another leadership context—stretching the role and authority to where *teachers actually become administrators* without giving up their teacher status,

union membership, and identification with the teaching profession. In increasing numbers teachers are assuming leadership roles in the operation of education programs (e.g., pregnant and new mother centers, drop-out prevention programs), schools-within-a-school, and "sub-schools" such as music and art programs. These units often operate within the regular high school but now have teacher administrators. Others are separate so-called mini-schools—magnets—and serve small, specialized student groups. Often these teacher leaders remain active in their teachers' union or association and are remunerated on a teacher pay scale though for a longer school year. As anticipated, many traditional principals and assistant principals hardly care for such an arrangement since teacher-leaders may erode the power, membership, and cohesion of the middle-management ranks. It seems that expanding the role and responsibility of teachers threatens the very nature of schools as bureaucracies, blurring job titles, responsibilities, and hierarchies of modern school systems.

Roberta Trachtman in chapter four studies the creative role of teachers in helping to create schools friendly to them, their peers, and to the process of teaching. Using data from five schools—New York City's first high school devoted to teaching, the Richard R. Green School of Teaching; an alternative high school; and three "professional practices schools" jointly created by teachers, their unions, school administrators, and university professors—the author is able to examine the processes of designing (or in some cases, re-designing) schools from the ground up, with teachers playing a key role. She details the need for engagement and colleagueship, the creation of new structures, the increase in teacher visibility and voice in school operations, and the acknowledgment of teaching as a "thinking act." This chapter is valuable for its insights into the process of teachers' moving from lone operatives to active partners in school design and decision-making.

Mark Smylie in chapter five focuses on the whole school organization and *the district-wide role of teachers as part of system decision-making.* Changing the district's internal controls to include a duly elected committee of teachers alters the role of superintendent and other district-level administrators. It also points to new roles for teachers as participants in governance and decision-making within administrative functions. While traditional school political analysis usually focused on the effort of teachers to influence school board elections, policy decision, and outcomes often through "interest group" politics, the new role of teacher has become that of management decision-making within the system—becoming part of school system operations. This development undoubtedly shows the rising importance of the executive function in school organization as more and more key decisions are shared by teachers and administrators, not by democratically-elected school board members.

Ann Weaver Hart in chapter six pulls together the major themes of the monograph—including teachers as local decision-makers, school leaders, and district-wide policy-makers—and shows implications for the field of school administration. Few can doubt the isolation of teachers in the classroom; few should overlook the narrowness of many school administrator preparation programs which hardly mention the teacher as a key educator, much less an important new decision-maker. Restructuring schools must someday lead to restructuring school administration and supervision training—as this monograph hopes to show.

Overall, this monograph examines the meaning and implications of these critical changes in the work lives of teachers. Clearly, teachers are older (see Auriemma, Cooper, and Smith, 1992), more restless, and seeking new work opportunities. This monograph examines three: the teacher as school site co-decision-maker and leader, as district-wide delegate to a shared-decision making body for the whole district, and as a principal-like figure who takes on administrative responsibility without really becoming an administrator. These three perspectives all point to the problem noticed by Lortie early on:

> Compared with most other kinds of middle-class work, teaching is relatively "career-free." There is less opportunity for the movement upward which is the essence of career.... The potential upward steps in teaching are fewer and hold less significance than one normally finds in middle-class work. Becoming an administrator or counselor blurs one's identity as a teacher and means abrupt discontinuity in tasks. High school teachers may assume part-time administrative duties as department chairmen. A teacher may make a lateral move to another school within the system.... The status of the young tenured teacher is not appreciably different from that of the highly experienced old-timer. (Lortie, 1975, pp. 84-85)

This monograph can be viewed in another way. Using the teacher as the focus, we can begin to understand the essence of school reform: how it affects the lives, expectations, aspirations, and future for America's teachers. As school districts try to shift power from central offices to schools, from administrators to teachers, from single-person to coalitional and group decision-making, we have a chance to see the effects of the fundamental relationships on the very nature of modern, large-scale public service institutions. If education with its preponderance of college educated, verbal, and skilled practitioners cannot democratize itself, bringing its key professionals into the process productively, then what hope is there for other critical organizations.

These new models of teacher involvement are testing the very limits of

school systems as we know them. We are exploring the process of bringing teacher's "out of their dens" and into the light of day, of helping teachers to determine their own work lives and rules, and of spreading control downward and outward from the "center" and "top" of the system. Just as big industry is "flattening" out its hierarchies, bringing workers into the decision-making process, and restructuring itself, so too is this impulse being felt in education. Perhaps, the very nature of school systems is in flux as teachers seek more autonomy and gain more collective involvement and control. We can image a new era in which schools are run cooperatively, democratically, and energetically by teachers, administrators and even parents. Whatever the results, we have come a long way since the era of early reformers. Ellwood P. Cubberly, one of the great progenitors of school administration, believed that schools were like "factories in which the raw material (children) are to be shaped and fashioned into products to meet the various demands of life. The specifications for manufacturing come from the demands of twentieth-century civilization, and it is the business of the school to build its pupils according to specifications laid down" (see Callahan, 1962, p. 97).

The demands in the 21st century will be different. Teachers will need to respond to a highly diverse, specialized, technical, and service oriented society. Unless we redesign the work of teachers, their schools, and the ways they are "led" and supervised, we cannot hope to bring schools into the next century prepared. Administrators and professors of administration should understand that what we now do may someday sound just as antiquated as Cubberley's words above. This monograph examines the emergence of teachers as the key educators, and the impact of these changes on schools, teacher unions, and school administrators—and how they are prepared.

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CHAPTER 2

When—Teachers Share School-Level Decision Making

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Traditionally, a number of mechanisms have existed in schools which have afforded teachers opportunities to participate in school-level decision-making (e.g., team teaching and teacher committees). However, these mechanisms have been criticized for their sporadic nature, involvement of a minority of teachers, and confinement of decision-making involvement to a limited number of instructional policy areas. Consequently, scholars and practitioners have recently called on teachers to become more consistently involved in a wider array of school decisions. Teacher representatives have endorsed efforts to involve teachers in decisions at the school site that can be distinguished from previous efforts on two criteria: (1) the mechanisms and parameters for making decisions are defined in the negotiated agreement (i.e., collective bargaining contract) and are therefore enforceable; and (2) once made by the appropriate deliberate and representative body, decisions cannot be reversed by any one member of the decision-making body. These arrangements, often called "site-based decision-making," are encouraging teachers to view school-level participation as part-and-parcel of the work of teaching (National Education Association, 1988). We suggest in this chapter that these arrangements also place teachers and their representatives in what Bolman and Deal (1985) call a "political" or Pfeffer and Salancik (1983) call a "coalitional" model of school organization—ones in which teachers are at the vortex of competing demands and conflicting decisions.

The dynamic view of school organization and decision making focuses on the concerns and beliefs of members of different interest groups who may form coalitions and make demands on schools. The net effect of moves to

decentralize decision-making authority to schools and teachers, then, may be to transfer the political struggles—long associated with school boards, unions, and central offices—to the schools. In addition, as school administrators and teachers seek to redefine their basic authority relationship, the possibility exists that their interests may collide. And the higher the stakes, the more important it becomes for teachers and administrators to form coalitions in an effort to resolve differences as they arise. Until scholars and practitioners begin to view schools as complex political coalitional systems, it will be difficult to understand or manage the operation of schools under new shared decision-making arrangements.

The Coalitional View

Scholars have typically applied a rational or structural model to study organizations, one that sees schools as "closed" systems pursuing fairly explicit and rational goals (e.g., maximizing effectiveness). This model holds that information about contingencies, such as size and environmental turbulence, can be used by managers to rationally plan and design organizational structures. In contrast, Pfeffer and Salancik's (1983) conception of the coalitional model of organizations holds that "information is limited and serves largely to justify decisions or positions already taken; goals, preferences, and effectiveness criteria are problematic and conflicting; . . . [and] organizational designs are frequently unplanned and are basically responses to contests and interest for control over the organization" (p. 104). Rather than viewing organizations as rational instruments, organizations are seen as coalitional social systems. In applying similar notions to the governance of school districts, Iannaccone (1990) notes:

> The micropolitics of education is concerned with the interaction and political ideologies and social systems of administrators, teachers, and pupils within buildings. These may be labeled as "internal" organizational subsystems. It is also concerned with the issues of the interaction between professional and lay sub-systems. They may be called the "external systems". . . (p. 466)

Coalitions form when interest groups combine to pursue common goals. A variety of interest groups exist within the teacher subsystem, for example, union members, non-members, math teachers, second grade teachers, and reading specialists. Coalitions of different interest groups are typically a temporal and issue-specific phenomenon (Bacharach & Lawler, 1980). For example, parents and union leaders may join together to persuade a site administrator to provide parents and teachers with more meaningful participation in site decision-making bodies. Or, parents and community leaders

might join forces to influence a school board to remove a particular teacher from a school.

Since multiple organizational interest groups pursue legitimate interests and mutual dependencies (Iannaccone, 1991), numerous dilemmas and ambiguities arise for organizational actors who seek to change the managerial structure of an organization. Pfeffer and Salancik (1983), for example, focus on the "design dilemmas" that confront managers in a variety of organizational settings when they attempt to decentralize decision making to lower organizational levels. These authors suggest that managers may choose strategically to decentralize in order to increase their ability to respond rapidly to external contingencies. The manager's primary role, then, becomes that of an assimilator and processor of information and different demands. (In education, for example, a decentralized design might help a superintendent diagnose the needs of a community characterized by rapid growth and a changing social composition). However, managers may become concerned that such a decentralized design makes their control too diffuse. They may then implement a structure that facilitates the implementation of managerial decisions (e.g., centralization) over one that helps them absorb and process information (e.g., decentralization).

In education, this type of dilemma confronts not only school and district managers, but union leadership as well. Indeed, attention to the "design dilemmas" confronting teachers' unions seems particularly timely as labor and management seek to reconstruct their relationship within the context of new participation-oriented reforms (e.g., site-based decision making). Traditionally, the union structure has mirrored the highly centralized school district management structure. Since school district policies emerging from the top of this pyramid are applied to the entire school district, collective bargaining agreements have also been crafted at the highest levels to protect the interests of teachers across the district. When the district begins to decentralize, policy sources other than those at the top of the hierarchy emerge (e.g., at individual school sites). With the emergence of these policy sources, the union must rearrange its procedures for protecting and advancing the interests of its members. What is occurring, then, is the introduction of mechanisms and procedures which complement district-wide agreements, but occur at lower levels of the organization. These mechanisms include site-specific contract waivers, "memorandums of understanding," contract addenda, and trust agreements. Generally, these devices are limited to one site, have a fixed time provision (typically one year), and are not considered as precedential in subsequent contract negotiations. However, if the union perceives that management is using decentralization as a device for circumventing district-wide collective bargaining agreements, it

would be highly unlikely for union leadership to endorse such arrangements.

Indeed, recent research (Johnson, 1987; Kerchner & Mitchell, 1988; Shedd, 1988) indicates that unions constantly strive to maintain a delicate balance between centralization and decentralization. That is, union leaders recognize that their ability to hold together a complex coalition of teachers with different needs and interests depends on counterbalancing these two extremes. Just as the central office must be able to respond to varying needs and demands of schools and their administrators, so too must the teachers' union be in a position to meet the requests of members for protection, information, and assistance in changing individual school policies and practices.

As authority is decentralized from central offices to school principals and teachers, the union often finds itself in the tenuous position of trying to be flexible in reconciling the needs of some teachers at a particular site without undermining the integrity of an agreement designed to protect the interests of all teachers. For example, a group of teachers in a school might decide under shared decision-making to work ten extra hours per week. The union would be placed in a delicate position if administrators in other schools requested the same extra effort from their staff—in violation of the contractual conditions of pay for work.

Shedd (1988) has analyzed changes in collective negotiations showing the fragile equilibrium between centralization and decentralization leading to a revised, though not necessarily conflict-free relationship between management and labor. The success of site-based decision-making lies in optimizing the balance between these two extremes. In particular, the changes that will be necessary to achieve such a balance include bargaining agreements that are far more flexible and responsive.

Perspectives of Union Leaders

Our own research (Conley, Cooper, & Robles, 1991) has explored the perspectives of union leaders who have been involved in implementing site-based decision making in the western United States. We developed case studies of two large urban districts with at least 90 schools and over 40,000 pupils. We interviewed two association leaders who were heavily involved in planning and implementing site-based decision-making in these districts.

Both districts were in states with strong collective bargaining laws and active teachers' organizations. The state teachers' groups were both affiliated with the National Education Association which endorses the concept of "site-based decision making" arrangements that are developed within collective bargaining contracts. Thus, site-based decision making in

these districts had the support of national, state, and local teachers' associations. The state organizations committed their own resources to provide training to support these local decentralization efforts.

In our interviews with union leaders, we sought to ascertain changes in the following areas consistent with Shedd's (1988) analytic framework:

The Scope of Bargaining: a shift toward broad, as opposed to narrow, interpretations of collective bargaining incorporating a range of educational issues and practices (e.g., preparation time, class size, and length of school day).

The Nature of Collective Bargaining Agreements: defined as incorporating into the contract guidelines for including teachers in decision making conducted away from the bargaining table (e.g., at individual school sites).

The Application of District Contract Provisions to Individual Schools: the tendency to emphasize the rights of school faculties to make exceptions to the contract rather than to suggest that negotiated items must apply unilaterally.

Retained Rights of Management Versus Collective Participation: an emphasis on teachers' joint participation in the setting of policies as opposed to the assumption that management retains the right to exercise authority on non-negotiated items (e.g., grading policies and dress codes).

Teacher Role Redefinition: a shift in the teachers' role from that of individual classroom actor to collegial school participant.

Cooperative Versus Conflictual Organization: a change from conceiving of site-based decision making as automatically non-confrontational to a model where disagreement and conflict are viewed as natural parts of organizational life.

With a political (Bolman & Deal, 1985) or coalitional (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1983) model in mind, we argue in this chapter that unions and administrators can be expected to emphasize cooperation but not a conflict-free relationship.

Results

Union leaders explained the impact of site-based decision making on teachers and their unions. Regarding the scope of bargaining, for example, both union leaders indicated that unions had to continue handling traditional concerns, such as grievances, while at the same time expanding the scope of union influence across issues. As one leader stated, "Unions have to change. Collective bargaining does not necessarily have to be defined by items in the [traditional] scope; it can address a whole range of issues. Site-based decision making raises concerns for all sorts of technical issues . . . about how to teach, what to teach, what is best for kids." The other leader reiterated the importance of the usual union functions, explaining that, "I say to teachers, we still have the contract, we still have grievances, you can bring disagreements to grievances, [including] personnel problems, evaluation, the principal holding meetings after school." Our interviews, then, indicate that leaders strive to balance the immediate and unpredictable needs of teachers with the integrity of a district-wide collective bargaining agreement that is only periodically up-dated.

The nature of bargaining agreements is in flux because of site-base decision making. In fact, a key role of negotiations is to actually *define the rules governing site-based decision making* itself. One union leader put it this way: "The agreement should clearly define the purpose and goal of [site-based decision-making] so that there is an understanding [by the decision-making team] of the boundaries." The other reported an example of a boundary: "Hiring and firing are not subject to community-based management." These comments illustrate a "Gordian Knot" for unions: their desire to be flexible and "part of the process," while consistently ensuring members' rights. As a case in point, both union leaders talked about interpreting the contract rules, to make exceptions to the agreements where approved by teachers and the administration, without undermining the efficacy of the contract. But one leader wondered, "If the union must give a waiver, then it should be in the agreement." He continued: "There would be a process by which the coordinating team would keep in constant communications with the school sites. . . So when serious issues come up, and eighty-percent of the teachers might want to do something, but twenty percent are not comfortable, they will say, hey, wait a minute, you want the lunch hour shortened, but I don't agree, I have a 30 minute duty-free lunch! That's why the contract is there. It's there to protect teachers from violations." The other queried, "Is it (the exception) a favor for a person here or is it going to do something for all teachers?" These issues underscore the problem faced by unions as guardians of traditional rights and responsibilities on one hand, and supporters of collegial discussions of professional and policy concerns on the other.

Shared decision making also raises the issue of the retained rights of management. Evidence from the private sector (Xerox, IBM, Federal Express) indicates that engaging the people working closest to policy implementation ensures workable, relevant policies. As one of our union leaders said, "It's foolish to think that one person can make a decision better than a whole team of people." The comments of the union leaders we interviewed suggest that they are no longer willing to relegate all but the most basic economic (i.e., "bread and butter") issues to management. Indeed this issue is closely related to teacher role redefinition, from individual classroom operative to collegial school participant. Conflict occurs when roles are changing: not just the respective roles of labor and management, but those between teacher union leaders and members: "Some teachers don't want to be or can't be involved for personal reasons. We encourage them to take control of their professional lives but we don't see it as our role to control them. . . . We try to get them to look to the long term and to know that they have made the right decision." We gained the impression that teacher union leaders see a role for themselves as facilitators of teacher involvement within a new framework of negotiation with their members.

Finally, site-based decision making involving teachers necessitates a working cooperative model where disagreement and conflict are normal parts of democratic organizational life. One leader explains the cooperative, inclusive nature of the process built on a tolerance of disagreement: "I keep telling the teachers, I don't want to see you guys voting. You negate the interests of the minority. This is an inclusive process. Voting is an exclusive process. . . simple majority rules. You negate the process through voting." This comment suggests that it may be unrealistic to expect an easy non-conflictual transition from traditional union models to decentralized, shared decision-making. The tension between teachers and their unions and among teachers themselves may reinforce the wariness among union members that site-based decision making (or shared decision making) is just another management ploy to divide teacher ranks and undermine the solidarity of the contract—another form of "divide-and-conquer." Decentralized organizational designs, such as site-based decision making, might be seen as simply a management ideology to impose controls over teachers.

If we look at political conflict theory and coalitional behavior, however, we see that conflict is normal and need not divide the union ranks nor set teachers against administrators. Rather, as we saw in our interviews, conflict can serve as an opportunity to assure that different perspectives are seriously considered. One implication for school administrators, then, is to view conflict as an opportunity to discern the varied and sometimes subtle interests and dependencies embedded in coalitional systems.

Conclusion

This chapter presents a perspective of schools as political, coalitional arenas where all actors and groups possess real power and vie for greater control and influence. While structural organizational theories emphasize formal authority and policymaking, a political view of organizations stresses aspects of power that are more subtle and informal. For the political theorist, much of organizational activity is a consequence of conflict—conflict that results in organizational winners and losers. We should thus not ignore the perceived successes and failures of important attendant groups in site-based reform, including teacher union leaders and administrators, who both enter the fray cautiously. This chapter suggests that union leaders are at times disturbed by these policy proposals because of uncertainty over shifts in bargaining relationships. In addition, union leaders are well aware that teachers have become accustomed to their representatives securing bread-and-butter items. Teachers may thus become concerned if the union presses for "professional" issues (such as participation) without making clear that they have not abandoned their traditional role. On the other hand, feelings of inequitable treatment generated by participation arrangements formed without union consent may also alienate union members. Principals may fear that new collective bargaining arrangements will erode their traditional domains of managerial authority. Evidence of this concern surfaced in Rochester, New York, where the administrators' association challenged an agreement calling for participation between the school district and the local affiliate of the American Federation of Teachers. And as Cooper notes in chapter three of this monograph, administrators in New York City similarly challenged the agreement there.

Despite these problems, new site-based decision making arrangements appear to be realigning decision making to facilitate teacher involvement in decision making at the site level. Within a coalitional framework, three trends may be detected:

(1) *An increase in coalitional behavior at the site as opposed to district level.* Analyses of schools as political systems tend to concentrate on the district level—on the relationships among unions, central offices, school boards, and communities. Current developments in site-based decision making suggest the importance of attending to intra-school political issues and relationships. We have indicated that certain tensions are likely to emerge between union leaders and their members. On one hand, the possibility exists that the association will not accurately gauge the intensity with which members desire a particular arrangement at the school site. On the other hand, it is also possible that the membership will fail to understand the threat to their collective interests posed by a desired course of action.

Dilemmas are presented to school principals as well: how do they involve teachers while also exercising their traditional managerial authority?

(2) *From union-management to teacher-teacher.* From a coalitional perspective, these cases indicate that a struggle exists between the need of the union to control terms of employment consistently across sites and the desires of many members to increase their policy-making influence at the site level. Conflict exists, then, not only between labor and management but also within the labor group itself. These struggles may be seen as "problems" or "opportunities" depending on one's organizational and political frame. As Bolman and Deal (1985) state: "Conflict is not necessarily a problem or a sign that something is amiss in an organization" (p. 119). Rather, conflict may be viewed as an opportunity for individuals and groups to recognize interests and thus leads to better understandings among different educational stakeholders.

(3) *From industrial to professional models of unionism.* The models of teacher unionism are also changing in the process. As we move from the industrial to the professional model of teacher associations (see Kerchner & Mitchell, 1988), bread-and-butter concerns remain important as control over the work place becomes an additional concern. Real questions emerge as each school becomes its own political setting. Will the sometimes fragile coalitions among administrators, teachers, unions, and other groups hold together? Will these groups come together or diverge? No set answers will emerge, for the very process of site-based decision making is in constant flux and growing complexity—without a single, clear "truth" (Lather, 1986). Perhaps it is in these dynamic situations that organizational actors can reconcile their differing views and perspectives, identify mutual dependencies, and reach agreement on how to make schools work for everyone.

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CHAPTER 3

When—Teachers Run Schools

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The recent wave of reform in education has included, though admittedly late, a good hard look at the career trajectory of teachers and moved to "empower," differentiate, and even "promote" teachers into different jobs (see Holmes Group, 1986; Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy, 1986; California Commission on the Teaching Profession, 1985). In part, such reforms are a means of breaking the boredom of years of classroom teaching and giving teachers greater opportunity to gain recognition, leadership positions, and control of their lives. Thus, given a chance, teachers can and do effectively run school units: departments, programs, grade-levels, "houses" or schools-within-schools, and even whole schools. The attraction is that teachers know the classroom, the students, and the curriculum; they share values and beliefs with the other teachers, and can eliminate some of the "adminis-trivia" of life in schools; and teachers have a "bottom-up," "teacher-and-kids-first" orientation, all qualities that recent school reforms value (see Doyle, Cooper, & Trachtman, 1991). If all schools were decentralized down to the unit level, with teachers in charge, some policy-theorists argue (see Chubb & Moe, 1990), schools might be more responsive to their clients and staff—and pay less homage to the bureaucracy

A Theoretical Perspective

Changes in teacher roles cannot be considered in isolation from the context and culture in which teaching occurs. Teachers work in large public bureaucracies (Bidwell, 1965), with (1) boundaries between job categories based on elaborate and formalized job descriptions; (2) rules and expectations about these hierarchies, (3) different and specific state certification for each tier in the system, and (4) responsibilities based on their level in the system. In fact, ironically, teachers and their unions have been partly

responsible for creating greater specificity in job titles and in protecting jobs from those less qualified through a requirement of licensing and experience, tests and regular staff development.

Hence, expanding the role of teachers to "teacher leaders," for example, calls for a reexamination of theories of school structure. As far back as Frederick Taylor and his four principles of "scientific management," we learn in Principle Three that organizations "establish the concept that there is a clear division of responsibility between management and workers, with managers doing the goal setting, planning, and supervising, and workers executing the required task" (Taylor, 1911, p. 8; see also Owens, 1987, p. 5). Fayol, too, insisted on the "unity of command" to make organizations work efficiently; and Weber built his "ideal type" bureaucracy around the now classical characteristics of a "division of labor based on functional specialization, a well-defined hierarchy of authority, and a system of rules covering the rights and duties of employees" (Owens, 1987, p. 7). As Tyack and Hansot (1982) demonstrate, these top-down approaches were mostly adopted from the private sector, even the manufacturing sector, into school settings to give the appearance of control, efficiency, and effectiveness (see also Callahan, 1962).

When "employees" take on managerial tasks, these classical theorists would probably wonder who is within whose "span of control" and who's accountable to whom? Bureaucratic theory itself emphasizes the need for control over the behavior of people; and control rests on certain key mechanisms:

1) *Maintaining firm hierarchical control of authority and close supervision of those in the lower ranks.* Promoting teachers into school unit leadership can be seen by management and even union leaders either as a disruption or distortion of the chain of command; a blurring of lines between the supervisor and the supervised; a coopting of teachers into the management system; and an attempt to make one teacher the master or mistress over other teachers. This technique has been used successfully in prisons, concentration camps and even in work gangs, where a "senior slave" is given privileges for keeping fellow slaves in line. Hence, some critics of promoting teachers to positions of key decision-making fear it will coopt them, rather than giving them a professional role. This "trap" may explain the hesitancy of some teachers to be drawn into decision-making usually reserved for principals in consultation with their staff (see Duke, Showers, & Imber, 1981).

2) *Establishing and maintaining adequate vertical communication.* When the school system creates "branch" sites scattered all across the city, or dissolves a school into "houses" or "sub-schools," it may become more difficult to have adequate communications. One solution, as is the case in

New York, is to promote a teacher as the key communicator, and to build the system of accountability, information, and control around this person. Yet, the more complex the school sites, the more administrators and teacher-administrators, and the more numerous the number of layers of bureaucracy, the more difficult it is to maintain the levels and quality of communications that organizations require.

Thus, despite being the nation's largest school bureaucracy, the New York City Public Schools and its schools and programs hardly fit the top-down, centralized, structured, chain-of-command model. Instead, the highly dispersed-decentralized quality of the effort testifies to the demands for small, responsive, local services for students, parents, and communities, and the need to decentralize working authority using teachers as leaders.

3) *Adding supervisors and administrative positions to the hierarchy of organization as necessary to meet problems that arise from changing organizational conditions* (Owens, 1987, p. 40). Traditional organizational theory seems quite willing to include middle-level administrators in the hierarchy; why not consider adding teachers, who have much to contribute to the way schools are run but have rarely if ever been considered real unit leaders? Yet, for all the talk about hierarchy in schools, the "system" has long been seen as "loosely coupled," mainly because teachers have worked in classrooms, as professionals, not as visible "workers" being directly supervised on the "production line." Classrooms are loosely linked to the "system." But creating smaller sub-units would also make the organization even more loosely bound, requiring some kind of coordinator or director on site.

Such new roles may violate a central tenet of effective organization, at least under the classical theory of management-employee relations, by blurring the lines between those who set goals, plan, control, and supervise, and those who carry out these directives. All kinds of reforms of the 1980s and early 1990s—e.g., school-based management, shared decision-making, teacher leadership, and teacher empowerment—clearly move teachers into a different organizational position, and require different theories of school organization and control.

Theoretically, too, it can mean that we are in need of a different organizational paradigm, one that assumes that the school is the major unit in the system, and that giving teachers programmatic leadership should affect that school, but not the entire organizational hierarchy. Data from a number of school districts indicate, however, the volatility of trying to change the very guts of the system, the division of responsibilities that defines the careers of those in the hierarchy.

SETTING: *New York City*

The sheer diversity of programs for students in the New York City Public Schools has forced the issue of formal control, administrator and teacher roles, and the definition of what it means to be a school "leader" in the modern school system. Two changes seem to be driving the teacher-leadership issue in New York. First, the schools should help students with special needs and problems, necessitating a level of specialization and decentralization not usually found in large school bureaucracies. That is, these pupils cannot be helped in the large public high school and require settings that are off-campus, small, intimate, and caring. To provide such services, special "units" or programs are established, which in turn require special "administration" from someone on-site. This kind of differentiation is based on need and service.

Second, for some of the same reasons, schools are being divided into smaller units (not because the children are necessarily "special" or "needy" but because ALL children benefit from a smaller, more familial and friendly setting). In 1988, the new head of the High School Division requested that all N.Y.C. high schools be divided into "houses." A house might be created geographically, with the building being sub-divided; or it might be a sub-school with a "theme," such as music and art (Martha Graham House), science and mathematics (Einstein House), by grade level (Tenth Grade House), or by academic goal (College Prep House). These divisions require some leadership; hence, the appointment of Teacher-Coordinators.

Case 1: Special Needs Mean Special Programs

Take one problem: pregnant and parenting students in school. Traditionally, when a young woman (a girl?) became pregnant, she left school, often quietly, either to have the child or not. Once her baby was born, she ended her formal education and became a "homemaker" and mother. Public schools had little to do with pregnant students and even less to provide for young mothers.

By the 1970s, however, the number of pregnancies and young school-age parents had reached epidemic proportion. On average nationally, sixty-four percent of black children were born to *single* mothers, and a goodly percentage of these mothers were young enough to be in school. Thus, to see every prospective or new mother as leaving school would (1) drive up the drop-out rate, (2) cut these young people off from further education and school friends, and (3) guarantee the chances that the young mother would be on welfare, especially if she had no grandmother at home to look after the child while she continued her high school (even junior high school) education.

New York City initiated a number of services for these young people, including child-care (often called "infant and toddler" programs), parenting classes, child-birth classes, and most importantly, education programs for young mothers, so they could earn their high school diploma and perhaps be prepared to support themselves and their child some day soon. The Program for Pregnant and Parenting Services (PPPS) has various initiatives including LYFE (Living for Young Families through Education), child-care, social services at 21 sites, and PPPS at five additional locations. These "schools" or "units" are scattered around the city, closer to young mothers or mothers-to-be and their family and neighborhood. The entire enterprise falls under the jurisdiction of a Principal and a city-wide Assistant Principal who see to the staff, program, and finances of the effort.

Yet, each "delivery unit" or site has its own Teacher Coordinator. Hence, what appears on paper to be a single school with one administrative team, in fact, turns out to be a complex cluster of sites and activities, with a Principal, Assistant Principal, and a number of Teacher Coordinators, all working at different locations across New York City. Although these sites required administration and coordination, with only eight to twelve students and three staff, they hardly warranted their own principal.

The Board of Education appointed experienced teachers to be Site Coordinators at the five program locations, reporting to a city-wide Assistant Principal who in turn was accountable to a city-wide Principal for PPPS. Interviews with several Site Coordinators indicated the excitement of running their own programs, the responsibility they had, and the long hours of work they put in. Although no formal administrative training was required, the responsibilities of Site Coordinators holding a teacher "line" were to work with pregnant and parenting students, to supervise the staff and the facility, to teach two periods per day, to have exceptional human relations skills to work with these young female students and their families, and good knowledge of the community in which these students (pregnant and parenting teens) lived. And in fact, most of the Teacher Coordinators had taken formal education administration courses at schools of education and were licensed by the state of New York—though they were not being "paid as principals."

The total pay was somewhat below that of a regular administrator. An Assistant Principal earned between $54,000 and $58,000, while a teacher holding a site-coordinator position was paid between $36,000 and $52,000, the usual teachers' pay plus a small stipend of $25.00 daily to cover the additional time they supposedly put in above and beyond the regular work day. However, running a site involved many more extra hours of work—opening the center at 7:30 am and closing it about 4: 30 pm while regular teachers were released at 3:20 pm daily.

But clearly these coordinators did not work for the pay; rather they received psychic rewards for shouldering the responsibility of operating a service center for these students. They also expressed a sense of pride at being part of a city-wide effort to reduce high school drop-outs and to serve young women. LYFE, (Living for Young Families through Education) provided child-care and social work support for hundreds of students with children at regular high schools, another attempt to mainstream young parents while helping their infants and toddlers nearby.

Case 2: House Plans and Sub-Schools

New York City has high schools of 4,000 and more students, no place for children to feel secure and cared for. Efforts to reduce the anonymity of these "school factories" have been many, including new guidance services, special academic programs, and even efforts to subdivide the school. Like the colleges of Yale University and Oxford University, the "house" plan divides the students into smaller groups, where students and teachers can get to know one another and where students come to identify with the "house" as well as the school.

This kind of sub-division is universal in these schools and is not necessarily based on the "special needs" of the students; hence, the problem is the "system" of overly-large high schools, not anything particular to the students. Houses can be based on their location in the building, the choice of students for a special theme or program, or by grade level. Whatever the configuration, this kind of structure gives teachers an opportunity to show their leadership. Houses based on themes, for example, allow teachers with special interests or talents (music, drama, photography, urban affairs, law and justice) to bring their skills to bear in running a theme house. Other teachers, with an interest in helping students to adjust to the large urban high school, can seek a House Coordinator position, again opening up an opportunity to specialize, gain recognition, and help colleagues in the House to communicate and work together.

In New York City, 100 high schools have houses—usually numbering from five to eight. At last count, over 550 teachers were getting course relief to be House Deans, House Coordinators, House Leaders, House Mentors—a chance that was not readily available in the traditional centralized high school. For example, at George Washington High School with its 3,700 or so students, eleven houses were created and tied into the "magnet schools" and "sub-school" concept. The range of themes follows the needs and backgrounds of the diverse urban student body. Outward Bound House, for example, is co-sponsored by Chemical Bank and takes the students to North Carolina Outward Bound in the summer for a survival course in mountain

climbing. Students with poor attitudes and weak performance seem to benefit from the physical and psychological training of Outward Bound—a "house" led by a teacher-coordinator with a background in wilderness hiking.

Similarly, Varsity House uses athletics to motivate students, an effort done cooperatively as a house with the City College of New York. Students attend programs at City College on Friday, where they learn about sports. The Health Careers House stresses a career in the health field; students are exposed to a variety of "health delivery" approaches and actually work at the Isabella Homes, a nursing home where George Washington H.S. students volunteer and often receive paying jobs. For the more academic students, the houses are dedicated to science and mathematics (Medical Arts House) and business and economics (Business House).

In these and other cases, the Teacher Coordinator plays a crucial role in carrying out the goals of the "house plan," by providing leadership, organizing the house activities, and being an advocate and ombudsman for students. The principal of George Washington explained that she looked to the house leaders to visit students during the day, to organize activities and trips, and to see that the needs of students were met in this large urban high school. The house plan would not have been possible, according to the principal, without the leadership of these teacher-coordinators. Many of the theme houses (Medical Arts, Varsity, Health Careers, Creative Arts, and Outward Bound) gave teachers a chance to pursue their own special talents and interests with students and to recognize excellence in students otherwise lost in the shuffle of a 3,700 student school. The principal was also very careful to explain that these teacher coordinators did not evaluate their fellow teachers, nor really supervise them—an awareness of the delicacy of using teachers in such leadership roles in the heavily regulated personnel environment of the City's schools.

Responses

The response to these leadership roles of Site Coordinator and other teacher-leader positions has been strong and swift from the Council of Supervisors and Administrators (CSA), the AFL-CIO affiliated union of school middle-management in the New York City Public Schools. The elevation of teachers into positions previously held by Assistant Principals, as managers of particular sub-units of the school program, has created conflict between the new leaders and traditional administration. Critics of the promotion of teachers into administrative posts argue as follows:

1) ***Lack of Training and Certification.*** These teacher leaders are not necessarily trained in leadership nor are they licensed by the state or city as

school administrators. While these coordinators report to an official Assistant Principal and Principal, who are legally responsible for the program, in fact these teachers have much discretion as decision-makers on the program site. Some have argued that as a teacher with long experience helping expectant mothers and young parents, these teacher-coordinators of the pregnancy and young parents program and the "houses" at George Washington High, are better trained for their job than someone with 18 credits in general school administration and a state administrators license.

CSA asks, would one turn the building of a bridge over to someone untrained in engineering or brain surgery over to a layperson, any more than one would want someone licensed as a teacher to be doing a supervisory job? As one of the CSA vice presidents explained, "You would be equating your expectations to a general practitioner in a hospital doing surgery or radiology on your child." A major argument against giving teachers supervisory positions is their lack of training (formal), experience (supposed), and certification (as an administrator since most are licensed as teachers).

2) ***Job Loss to Administrators.*** For every position that is given to a teacher, the CSA loses a member and the administrative ranks are reduced. On a practical level, the principals' union could hardly survive if teachers took over the management of schools and programs. Unions, especially members of the AFL-CIO, are sensitive to raiding other unions or crossing lines between qualifications to recruit members. In New York City, both the United Federation of Teachers and the Council of Administrators and Supervisors are affiliated with national unions (the American Federation of Teachers and the American Federation of School Administrators respectively) that are "member unions" of the AFL-CIO.

To have teachers holding down administrator lines violates the integrity of the position, the argument goes, and the division of employees between the two unions. Hence, CSA objects to the Board every time a teacher is appointed to a management or leadership position. And in principle, the UFT (teachers' union) has agreed not to support the use of teachers in quasi-management positions.

3) ***Upsets the Supervisory Relationship.*** In these Program for Pregnant and Parenting Students sites, the Site Coordinators are functionally overseeing (but *not* officially "supervising" and evaluating) teachers; hence, teachers are holding authority over other teachers. Presumably, incompetent teachers are noted and could be reported by a Teacher-Coordinator, possibly leading to a difficult union situation. Should a teacher be evaluated as "Unsatisfactory" officially by the Principal of the program but through information provided by the fellow teacher, the Site Coordinator, the possibility of a grievance emerges: one teacher against another.

Such a grievance is to be avoided by the teachers' union, since it produces a "lose-lose" situation and potentially divides the organization against itself. Yet, without the authority to supervise and evaluate, the "administrative" function of the Teacher Coordinator is severely restricted. Without "legal bureaucratic authority" based on training and position, such leader-teachers are thrown back on their personal charisma and skill, which may fail should a serious personnel problem emerge in their "unit" or "house."

For management, the prospect of teachers placing a negative report in another teachers' personnel file is discomforting for unions, according to a CSA vice president. He continues:

> Therefore, teachers supervising teachers does not work. While it is true that if all teachers were professional and talented in the performance of their duties, there would be less of a need for supervisors. Unfortunately, that is not the case. As in a large family and business operation, there is a need for supervision. No single principal and a small cadre of supervisors can control and operate a school of 1000-plus students and more than 100 adult workers, especially a New York City high school with all its problems. (Letter from CSA, Sept. 19, 1991, New York City)

Thus, it seems obvious that critics are concerned about the shrinking of school middle management ranks, the loss of "lines," the failure to replace administrators, and the use of teachers to take these jobs. This reduction in mid-level bureaucracy is a common theme in recent years, as school districts attempt to save money, shift greater control to schools and away from the central and district offices, and empower teachers and other on-site staff to make their own decisions. Hence, some of the resistance to using teachers comes from those with the most to lose: administrators and their organizations.

4) ***Threatens Union Autonomy.*** Unions fear that should teachers take on supervisory and managerial responsibilities, they may disqualify the teachers' union from collective bargaining, since the teacher had joined middle management. Again, blurring of the lines between "worker" and "supervisor" upsets the delicate relationships that appear in unionized, formalized school bureaucracies. Such balancing makes real changes in roles and tasks more difficult. Hence, the teachers' union, the UFT, has agreed that teachers should *not* be placed in the position of supervising other teachers, making these "leader-teachers" somewhat limited in what they can do.

5) ***Higher Actual Costs to "Promote" a Teacher than to Use a Regular Supervisor.*** The supervisors union in New York City, the Council of Supervisors and Administrators (CSA), did its own analysis of the "cost

savings" to the Board of Education of appointing a non-supervisor to leadership posts. The argument made by CSA, in opposition to appointing unlicensed supervisors (teachers) to these jobs, is that using teachers is actually *more expensive* per hour than using a licensed administrator.

The arithmetic goes as follows. A New York City school teacher works a 6-hour, 20-minute day; an assistant principal, 7 hours and 20 minutes, plus 7 additional days per year (TOTAL: 186 hours, or 1 extra hour per day for 186 regular school days, plus 7 extra "administrative" days, or 56 hours, for a total of 242 hours per year, for some $2,000). When one considers that the annual salary of a new assistant principal is only $2,000 more yearly than that of a teacher at maximum level ($54,000 for the AP and $52,000 for the top-paid teacher), then teachers actually earn more *per hour* and would cost more to put into administrative positions, according to the CSA, than to leave in the classroom full-time.

Analysis

Changing the role of teachers is an integral part of school reform and restructuring. It makes sense organizationally, since teachers possess talents outside their pedagogy and need a change in venue and activity to break the monotony of years of classroom teaching. Moving teachers into leadership roles, whether as mentors for other teachers, peers or coaches, directors or coordinators, breaks the mold of current practices in school operations. It challenges the very structure of the school system itself, just at a time when critics are questioning the effectiveness of large-scale school bureaucracies anyway. Chubb and Moe (1990), perhaps more than other analysts, have attacked the bureaucratic structure of schools, arguing that being responsive to market forces is superior to top-down regulation and external controls so common in public schools.

Thus putting teachers into site-based leadership positions fits nicely into contemporary views of the "restructured school," including a shift from top-down management toward increased "bottom-up" control (see Cooper, 1989). Promoting a classroom practitioner, one who identifies him/herself as a teacher, likely means that the leader will be concerned primarily with the needs and problems of their fellow teacher, not with the system and its management. Not having an administrators' certification may mean, too, that their roots remain in the classroom, not in the hierarchy. It is for this reason that regular administrators are skeptical whether these teacher-leaders are up for the task.

Second, creating smaller and smaller school sub-units helps to break up the bureaucracy and to devote more energy to meeting needs of special groups of students, whether they be "high school drop-outs," "pregnant and

parenting young women," gifted students needing an enhancement program, handicapped, or whatever. Making schools client-specific does much to overcome the distance that often grows up between school and family, and programs become more responsive to parents and students. Thus, these schools and their teacher-leaders will perhaps be more concerned with the community and students, and less with the bureaucracy.

Charles T. Kerchner in his study of changing school organization recognizes the importance of bringing client and school closer together, through a looser, more decentralized system . . . Kerchner (1990) writes

> Because client-responsive organizations are seldom as compartmentalized as existing public bureaucracies, managers will need to analyze the set of interdependencies required for response. Then, they will have to devote time to create groups of teachers and others with the capability of responding without the high structural overhead and long lag times associated with public bureaucracies . . . Ownership implies empowerment, that which Kanter (1983, p. 142) calls, the "freedom to act, which arouses the desire to act." The ability to act is created by distributing the "basic commodities" of the organization: its **information** (political intelligence, expertise), its **resources** (funds, materials, space, time) and its **support** (endorsements, backing, approval, legitimacy). (Kerchner, 1990, p. 277; see also Kanter, 1983, p. 142, p. 159).

Third, the promotion of teachers breaks the rules of the game, forcing the issue of rigidity and control often lodged in the work rules of the organization. The net effect of such changes follows closely the need to give greater flexibility to individual schools and programs. Thus, as shown in Table 3.1, an analysis of teacher-leaders or coordinators involves four different analytical dimensions:

> **Role Change** dimension: teachers changing from lone classroom operative to fully involved coordinator working with other adults in a leadership setting (see Lortie, 1969);
>
> **Structural Change** dimension: schools are sub-divided to give better service and to provide teachers the opportunity to take a leadership role (see Bolman and Deal, 1988);
>
> **Political Change** dimension: power devolved downward to the school site, where teachers can act as unit managers with their peers. In a tightly coupled, highly centralized system, teachers would be unable to assume such a position;

Standardization and Control Change dimension: finally, schools make changes in the rules of certification, control, and management (Bacharach, Shedd & Conley, 1986). Standard procedures give way to more flexible, local solutions and policies.

Role Change

Changing roles in organizations is difficult for several reasons. First, the incumbents themselves may resist, and second, the organization may make it difficult for new patterns to emerge. When teachers are empowered, given greater responsibility, and raised in the organization, they run into the lower rungs of the supervisory career ladder and threaten the jobs and livelihood of the least senior of the management staff. It also challenges the standard assumptions and norms of the teaching profession. As Lortie (1975) found, the norms of "individualism," "presentism," and "immediacy" . . . "drive the teaching profession" (see Richardson, 1991, p. 67).

Kerchner and Koppich (1991) explain the importance of work roles in school organizations, finding that such definitions are absolutely critical to the way teachers see their jobs. Kerchner and Mitchell (1988) wrote: "role prescription or identification presented itself as the single most important commonality in norms and values that individuals brought to education" (p. 121). These writers continued: "Work role was more important than gender, race, geography, or political predisposition in determining attitudes about education. Teachers did think like teachers" (1988 p. 239; see also Kerchner & Koppich, 1990).

Structural Change

The promotion of teachers into leadership positions shifts the whole structure of the school bureaucracy. No longer, it seems, are teachers the "employees" or "workers" of the organization. Now they become professionals who begin to manage their own affairs. One way to explain the resistance to this kind of change, particularly from incumbent supervisors and administrators, is that such changes threaten the schools as a hierarchical organization. What if schools became self-managing? What if teachers could manage their own affairs? And what if the direction of education came from the "bottom" of the system, the classroom, the school unit, and the teacher, not the top? Such anti-bureaucratic actions may be resisted by those vested in the structure as it is.

Table 3.1
Change Dimensions of Teacher Leadership in Schools: Four Levels of Analysis

Dimensions:	Previous Standing	New Standing and Conflict
ROLES:	Teachers as classroom managers	Uni-wide coordination and leadership: "trespassing on supervisory turf."
STRUCTURE:	Teachers as "employees" at bottom of a school	Teachers as leaders: decision-making from the "bottom-up" bureaucracy.
POLITICS:	Teachers concentrate primarily on resources	Teacher leadership threatens middle administration, in classroom principals and assistant principals.
REGULATIONS:	Teachers may not act as supervisors of other teachers.	Teachers challenging the practices of districts by performing leadership roles in districts.

Yet, giving teachers greater leadership presumably strengthens the linkage between leaders and followers, between the system and classroom. Hence, the leader-teacher or teacher-coordinator can help to convey the needs of staff to the central office and interpret the demands of the system for the teachers in the classroom. The structural advantage, then, is to improve the functioning of the system by bringing administration closer to teachers and teachers closer to the norms and needs of the system. The possible problem with the traditional principal and other full-time generalist administrators is their lack of real empathy, understanding, and identification with the needs of teachers. The danger, of course, is that teacher-leaders will be too close to their colleagues and fail to represent the "system" (though one would prefer a leader who is closer to, rather than isolated from, the real needs of other teachers).

Political Change

We have seen just how politically dangerous such changes can be, given that principals and other mid-level administrators may resist the replacement of a licensed administrator with a teacher-leader. Teacher unions, too, may be wary of expanding the purview of teachers beyond a "shared" decision-making model since putting teacher-leaders into programs may mean losing those people as the management function expands and becomes more flexible.

As school functions are broken up (as sub-schools, houses, alternative programs, special programs for children with special needs), the managerial function must also be decentralized. New roles and alliances are created, making the politics of local schools much different. As Ball and Bowe explain about changing political relationships in schools, "All headteachers [in Britain] and principals are faced with having to confront the micropolitical conundrum of achieving control over subordinates while also maintaining their cooperation . . . both of these needs are heightened, but both are more difficult to sustain" (1991, p. 44). If this conundrum confounds trained, licensed, and experienced principals and head teachers, it must also be a political problem for elevated teachers. How does a teacher, a "one among equals," build trust and cooperation from fellow teachers while also exerting some leadership and control?

At the systemic level, then, changing the roles and responsibilities of line-level leadership affects the command structure and thus the politics of the whole system; on a micropolitical level, teachers who hold supervisor posts may encounter the problems of all leaders: how to maintain personal ties with colleagues while exerting influence and control. Other groups, too, have a political interest, particularly the teachers' union and the association of school administrators and supervisors. The teachers' union fears entangling its members in the messy governance of schools; the administrators' group is upset with jobs, thought "rightfully theirs," given to teachers—a practice that threatens the belief that only a licensed administrator can provide school-site and program leadership.

It is these fears of teachers and administrators that make some observers less than optimistic that real structural alterations are possible, given the need to change the culture of the school as well. Smylie (1991), for example, concludes: "The success of these new initiatives is likely to depend on their compatibility with the existing culture of schools. Where they are compatible, they may be accepted. Where they are not, they are likely to be rejected. However, if these initiatives are believed to be essential for improving teaching and enhancing learning for children, we must confront the need for cultural change" (p. 34).

Changes in Standard Practices and Regulations

All organizations operate on standard rules and procedures; otherwise chaos and inefficiency would reign supreme. But rules do require change, particularly when they have little relationship to the goals and greater good of the system. Often rules delay or prevent changes that should be implemented. As teachers are given greater responsibility in the operation

of schools, at both the classroom and strategic/systemic levels, the regulations governing what teachers can and cannot do are challenged

In fact, teachers have been leading in schools for centuries, unofficially and quietly. No principal can manage a school alone: in some cases, teachers serve on committees, task forces, and department boards; in other cases, the principal delegates responsibility to teachers and they do it. Now, however, this role is being institutionalized, and the old, informal rules about who "must" do what are up for grabs. Walks around schools often show the teacher doing the leading—with students and colleagues, parents and community—and the principal being once removed, handling the telephone calls, the official meetings at "central office," and the emergencies.

Much of this is shifting downward in the organization, and the rules are slow to catch up. But changes in action often lead to changes in rules. In a sense, rules codify what occurs, as much as shaping these events and behaviors. As teachers emerge as leaders—displaying leadership that is visible, sanctioned, and official—the rules and regulations about who does what will conform more to the changing needs of community, family, and children, and less to decade's old directives and norms that may no longer apply.

Thus, while putting teachers in charge of specific programs not only gives them a chance to show their stuff—their leadership, their knowledge of clients and the culture of the community, such change also shifts greater authority downward in the organization, closer to students, other teachers, and the immediate teacher-leader in ways that more top-down reforms may not.

Teachers too are learning the problems of working in organizations that are so finely and tightly defined that individual members have few options. As Chubb and Moe (1990) explain:

> The best way for groups to protect their achievements from the uncertainties of future politics, therefore, is through formalization: the form reduction or elimination of discretion, the formal insulation of any remaining discretion from future political influence. . . . In this way, [leaders] can formally enshrine not only the goals that schools are required to pursue, but also the criteria and standards they are to employ, the procedures and methods they are to follow, the types of personnel they are to hire, and virtually anything else relevant to the implementation of policy. (p. 43).

Interestingly, the teachers and their unions in response to decisions by management were in part responsible for the formalization of education; now some teachers want greater latitude and control, and are confronting

regulations and strictures. Perhaps, when teachers realize the trade-off between regulation and autonomy, between a flexible organization where they can expand their roles and a rule-bound one where they cannot, teachers themselves and their unions will opt for greater opportunity.

A number of theoretical considerations come to mind. First, when systems reach states of formalization and even rigidity, they cease to let their structure be governed by the task to be performed; rather, the task is shaped by the structure. In other words, even though decentralizing schools, creating multiple small sites to perform special tasks, and building a management arrangement to fit these small school programs makes good education and organizational sense, the pressure is to maintain the status quo: i.e., a principal in charge of each unit, meaning schools must be larger, more centralized, and more general in their program.

To break the mold, to make schools small, self-governing and responsive to their specialized constituency (the gifted, pregnant and parenting students, musical prodigies) may require a break-up in the hierarchical, top-down, standard system and the reallocation of resources, staff, and control. Instead of a few centers of authority (a high school with a principal), perhaps students would be better served by a number of smaller, self-governing programs run by leader-teachers who are expert in their fields and secondarily managers, rather than the other way around. Smaller schools would require less specialized administration, meaning that a skillful teacher with an interest in leadership could "run" them, with a formal principal and assistant operating system-wide officially but not necessarily at every program site.

Clearly, teacher leadership in schools and districts runs counter to the mainstream of traditional management. In fact, pressures mount to reduce even the historical autonomy of teachers in their classrooms, much less to entertain the possibility that teachers might increase authority outside their teaching domain. As Owens explains:

> One might conclude that the looseness in controlling the instructional behavior of teachers is somehow "wrong" and insist—in the tradition of bureaucratic thought—that it be tightened up. Indeed, many contemporary observers take such a view and this explains many political initiatives undertaken by governors, legislatures, and a few state education departments to "toughen up" standards and requirements by imposing new requirements and limitations on schools. . . . [In addition], recent studies strongly suggest that there are powerful mechanisms through which the organization exerts considerable control over the activities of teachers that have heretofore been largely unseen and unrecognized. Whereas we traditionally think of organizations exercising control exclusively through such formal mechanisms as supervision down the line of

> authority, a useful newer perspective is that powerful control is exercised through far more subtle and indirect means: the development of organizational culture. (Owens, 1987, p. 29)

Hence, teachers as leaders threaten not only the structure of the system, but according to contemporary theory, the culture of that hierarchy as well. Efforts to restructure schools, bringing teachers into leadership roles, are likely to fail unless the norms and arrangements that support these new roles are also changed. Indications are, with a little creativity and faith, teachers can make a contribution to the reorganization and improvement of schools, not only as classroom teachers but as education decision-makers and as leaders of programs and initiatives that bring better services to students.

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Getting Teachers into the Process—
Making schools for teacher. . .

CHAPTER 4

When—Teachers Re-design Schools around Teaching

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Teachers are often treated as guests in their own schools, as people to be noticed and even consulted but not as active decision-makers in designing schools. Rarely if ever are teachers asked to plan a school from the ground up, to sit with superintendents, school board members, architects, curriculum experts, and textbook composers to formulate the school environment from scratch. The absence of the teachers' contribution means that "teaching," the instructional process, is not often at the center of the school's program. Instead, schools are planned by the "central office" as production units cut from a common mold, as bricks and mortar, and as places to house students and staff. It is no wonder, observers have commented, that while the physical design of schools may appear different, once they open, all schools feel very much alike. Ironically, teaching is usually the last function "installed" in the school rather than the centerpiece for the building or redesigning of the school.

In recent years, this tendency to put administrative "expertise" and convenience first and teacher concerns last is beginning to change. In New York City, for example, a whole school was built to encourage high school students to select teaching as a career. The raison d'etre of the school was instruction: to teach it, model it, enhance it and to convince students that it was as important a skill, craft, and activity as football, mathematics, dancing, or playing the violin. The Richard R. Green High School of Teaching, named after the recent chancellor of the N.Y.C. Public Schools who died tragically while in service as Chancellor, was not alone. A whole string of schools were opened, schools designed by teachers to bring together the best minds in the academy (nearby universities), in the classroom, and outside experts with active support of the teachers' union and other groups. These schools come close to the ideal model of teachers

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designing schools, helping to lead them, and being active partners with administrators, school boards, and communities, in determining the best teaching techniques to use.

Background of Research

Reformers of the 1980s called for changing schools and changing teachers, reminding us that the work of teachers is often lonely, unsupported, and uncertain. Reformers called for the expansion of teachers' roles and the creation of collegial work environments. External prods seemed to do little, however, to change the education landscape (see Doyle, Cooper, & Trachtman, 1991). While policy makers exhorted teachers to take charge, teachers braced themselves for school closings, reductions in force, and revenue short-falls, conditions particularly affecting the morale of newer teachers with the least seniority and job security. In reflecting on his powerlessness, one teacher said, "I'm just a soldier in this army." As the decade of the 1980s closed, few public schools had attempted real shifts in authority, power, and responsibility from administrators to teachers or parents.

New forms of teacher leadership seemed essential since inviting teachers into the process after the mold is set and the school is in full operation may be too little too late. Teachers deserve the same options to help create a strong, positive teaching environment as doctors have in creating effective medical centers and as business people have in configuring their own "work stations," production lines, offices and other work spaces. More so, perhaps, for the personality and interests of teachers shape the milieu in which they work, making their schools and classrooms conducive, warm, and welcoming places to learn, or hostile, inappropriate settings that undermine the school's mission.

Cases and Methods

Five urban schools, all different but all highly teacher and teaching centered, form the data base for this study. In each setting, analyses between 1990 and 1992 focused on how teachers simultaneously struggled to re-create their roles and re-design their schools. Interviews with teachers, administrators, and parents at each school revealed the complexity of these new-style schools. These schools include an alternative high school, a magnet school, and three professional practice schools.

An Alternative High School: University Heights High School, located on the campus of Bronx Community College, City University of New York, opened in January 1987. Administrators, teachers, and staff at University

Heights High School faced the widely held perception that "alternative" meant second rate, a last refuge, a dumping ground for the unwanted, the asocial, and the uneducable. Staff and students over the last few years have overlooked the negative critique of outsiders while working inside to re-create their own work settings. Participants wanted to know how their school was working, based on more than the usual academic tests and assessments.

University Heights High School had several important advantages. Unlike many other "restructured" schools, University Heights High School did not come from some other school; it was not carved out of another school. As a school-university collaboration, it reflected the unique qualities associated with the "middle college," a high school affiliated with and located on the campus of a college or university. It had the advantages of resources, support, and reputation of the college setting, and as an alternative high school, it drew upon a progressive tradition, engaging students in non-competitive, active, pupil-centered learning experiences (Korn, 1991). Cooperation, sharing, and positive human development were all emphasized to the apparent benefit of students.

A Magnet High School for Teaching: In 1988, the United Federation of Teachers (the NYC local of the American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, which bargains for New York City's 80,000 teachers and paraprofessionals) met with the then new, black chancellor, Richard R. Green to discuss opening a new kind of school. Eager to demonstrate his support for both teachers on-the-job and for teaching as a career, Dr. Green agreed that a high school for teaching would signal the city's predominantly minority youth to stay in school and consider teaching as a career. Although Dr. Green's untimely death later that year robbed the school of its most visible, high-ranking supporter, the Richard R. Green High School of Teaching opened on schedule in September 1989.

Located on the fifth floor of an inner-city elementary school, New York City's first high school for students interested in the teaching profession was conceived as a laboratory for new teaching techniques. Innovations included teaching internships, the 90-minute class period, a principal who also teaches, and a setting to demonstrate "best practices" in education. As a "magnet school," the high school also sought to use active recruitment, choice, and selection as means of promoting unity, commitment, student attainment, and decreased pupil attrition. As an experiment in the re-design of teachers' work, the high school also proposed to integrate school-based governance with participatory teacher decision-making.

Professional Practice Schools: During the 1990-1991 school year, teachers and administrators from public schools and universities in Los Angeles, California; Minneapolis, Minnesota; and Rochester, New York,

with assistance and financial help from the American Federation of Teachers planned for the creation of three schools dedicated to supporting systematic inquiry into the improvement of teaching practices. The term "professional practice" captures the concept of teachers—being like doctors in their teaching hospitals—learning the craft of education in a setting devoted to continuous development while greatly benefiting the "clients" of the institutions, the students, and the practitioners, the teachers. Two of the professional practice schools were comprehensive urban secondary schools and the third was a large, inner-city elementary school. All three schools reported the problem of limited resources and fiscal short-falls, a common occurrence given the recession in many cities during this time period.

Elements of Teachers Designing Schools for Teaching

Schools are not always user-friendly. Engaging teachers in the process of making schools over in the image of good instruction requires a new role and behaviors for teachers (see Johnson, 1990; Rosenholtz, 1989; Trachtman, 1991) and administrators. Research on teachers and their involvement in helping to determine school policies and practices points to four changes: 1) from isolation to engagement and collegiality; 2) from old-style management-centered structures to new teaching-centered organizational practices; 3) from silent suffering to engagement and enfranchisement; and 4) from mindless, separated teaching to collaborative, shared technique. Figure 4.1 shows the relationship among the four changes, and the conditions that each new arrangement produces in these sample schools.

1) *Engagement and Collegiality:*

In effective schools, teachers work to end their isolation and to engage themselves with others in helping to redefine their schools (see Little, 1982; Rosenholtz, 1989). Data across the five schools identified teachers who worked to overcome the practices of the typical urban school: practices that isolate, deskill, and disempower teachers and students. Informants recognized that more money and training alone would not prevent defensive and controlling teaching (McNeil, 1988). Thus, somehow, through mutual trust and collegiality, teachers needed to be active participants in the design or redesign of their own work settings, schedules, activities, and programs. In a real sense, the changes suggested by teachers would make them more like other professionals, rather than remaining "employees" or "semi-professionals" (see Lortie, 1975). According to many reformers, professionalizing the work environment requires that teachers systematically cooperate in the improvement of practice.

Figure 4.1
Elements of Teacher Leadership of School Re-Design

From Traditional School	To Best Teaching Practices
1. **Isolation.** Egg-crate structure; isolated teaching; separate environments. "Lone Stranger" model of teaching.	1. **Engagement, Collegiality** Shared vision; group interaction, based on mutual interests and trust. Key role in designing the work environment. Teachers assuming responsibility for school institution.
2. **Administrative-Controlled Structures** Schools operating for administrative efficiency; standardized program, use of time, activities. Management orientation, efficiency concerns.	2. **Teacher-Controlled Structures** Schools operating for teachers, teaching and instruction. Time devised for improved instruction and classes. Activities appropriate for teaching.
3. **Invisibility, Silence, and Disunity** Teachers, isolated, work alone and have no clear, collective voice. Teachers are hardly visible in making most important decisions.	3. **Voice and Visibility** Teachers play a prominent role in setting policy and designing school and its work. Teachers are highly visible in making decisions and working with colleagues. Important decisions are shared.
4. **Teaching as Routine Work** Lack of professional growth and opportunity makes teaching dull, routine, and less effective. Lack of chances to confer, meet, grow, and share forces teachers out of profession.	4. **Teaching as a Thinking Act** Teachers share ideas and grow as professionals. Redesigned school supports teacher engagement and action, making instruction exciting and challenging. Life-long professional development.

However, as Hargreaves (1991) advises, teacher interaction may reflect a true collaborative culture or a culture of contrived collegiality. Collaborative settings are spontaneous, voluntary, and developing over time and space, while "contrived" collegiality is forced, "mandated," "yes-no" or "on-off," and short-lived. Analysis in this research indicates that most staff in the five schools are at an early stage in developing a shared culture

necessary for real professionalism. Interestingly, teacher collaboration seems to revolve around the issues and individuals involved. As one might expect, most teachers took a moderate, occasional, wait-and-see approach, while a few rejected the notion all together and a few embraced it. Not surprisingly, the collaborative continuum reflects the "zones of acceptance," "zones of indifference" theories of Barnard (1938) and Bridges (1967).

2) *Creating New Structures*

But feeling good about sharing in the creation of a new school culture or changing the existing one requires more than good feelings. It rests on changing the structures of the school: its organization, use of time, space, and activities, hierarchy, division of labor, roles and responsibilities. This restructuring, to use an overused phrase, requires time and procedures, just to plan and execute the implementation of a new school order. The very process of creating these new structures rests on new structures: joint planning councils and representational decision-making bodies (since all teachers cannot be in on all decision-making). Perhaps the best predictor of the outcomes of teacher involvement is the process itself—since restructured planning closely resembles restructured operations. Schools where teachers share fully in planning are more likely to engage teachers in on-going governance.

Teachers in these five schools spent much of their time developing structures and schedules to support the creation of communities of learners. Unused to planning massive structural change, one teacher complained that "so much of the conversation is *around* our teaching rather than *about* our teaching." Participants reported that creating new settings with new norms required numerous, lengthy meetings, on-going discussions, much patience and new relationships within the school and without it. One teacher explained that "We can't continue to meet only once a month and hope to accomplish our goals. Talking is valuable and the direction we follow will be determined by these conversations."

Teachers confessed that their own backgrounds often biased their feelings toward taking an active role in designing their own schools. These deeply rooted traditions (see Tye, 1985; Metz, 1990) explain in part the difficulty of the recreation of schools. One old-timer confessed:

> I'm 47 years old and have been teaching for 24 years and I've been in school for "3,000 years" and never have I ever seen anything except a hierarchy. Never, never, never! Not when I was a child. Not when I was a student in graduate school. Not when I went on to another graduate school, and not in any of the

> nine schools I've taught in before. So, this is such a new thing. It's like . . . like a thing coming out of the water. It's still forming and that's the difficulty. It's the formation of a new entity to see which comes out of . . . it's very easy to go back to . . the boss who tells you what to do and the boss who tells other bosses what to do.

Teachers are moving from talking and connecting in public meetings to talking and connecting together inside the classroom. Across the five sample schools, teachers established formal processes for meeting, sharing lessons, observing each other's classes, and providing feedback to peers. But in contrast to traditional forms of "supervision," peer teachers are visiting as colleagues, not evaluators, to offer help not sanctions. Teachers start to see themselves as researchers, reflecting on the *why's* of their work, and the *effects* of their practices on students.

Teachers found that they were not always successful in this new role. They came to understand the conflicts inherent in teachers' development, including the limits of resources (time for inter-visitation, pre- and post-observation conferences, and time and wherewithal to offer appropriate feedback). Besides acting as collegial observers and coaches, teachers in these schools used team-teaching, interdisciplinary lessons, and expanded classroom periods. Rather than depending on the "canned, " "handed-down" curriculum and the forty-minute learning byte, teachers and students were designing and redesigning the content of their work in flexible sessions and schedules. And the pedagogy itself began to change along with the role of teachers in planning, organizing, and structuring schools. In many classrooms, project-based learning and interaction contrasted with the traditional "banking" (Freire, 1983) concept where teachers try to "deposit" knowledge into the "minds" of students.

Thus, preliminary investigations seem to indicate that the more the teachers taste of autonomy and control, the more they move into real central roles in the school. They seem more willing to meet, collaborate, and control when they see the relations between planning and classroom change, between participation and outcomes. Then, some of the resistance to engagement disappears.

Novice Teachers. Particularly vulnerable, and yet often willing to join in, are the novice teachers. As Veenman (1984) explained, beginning teachers experience reality shock, a jolt exacerbated by expanded roles and responsibilities in these five schools. One neophyte confessed: "Any place will be easier than this place. Some days we walk in and the schedule has been changed, and so you have to 'wing' a lesson because you didn't [couldn't] prepare for the class that was scheduled." In describing her new role in the group guidance sessions called "Family Group," a new teacher

said: "Family group is overwhelming. I spend a lot of free time doing records, change of grade forms, meeting with students who have problems with other teachers. I don't have preparation time because of family group." Even ending class was difficult, since the new teacher's watch broke and the new school had no bells.

Teachers New to the School. While teachers planned, determined, and prepared to recreate the school, their member-hip came and went in the five schools. One teacher worried about creating a new culture for a whole group of teachers who weren't there to approve, buy in, and help to shape the new environment. One teacher explained that their growth in numbers meant that "the plan we developed for spring is now being carried out by people who were not involved in the planning and do not necessarily buy into it as we do."

Hence, teachers worried about their "revolving door" colleagues. Interestingly, the American school was created to be as segmented and non-interdependent as possible: teacher turnover was as high as 23 percent per year in the 1950s and 1960s, meaning the attachments and interdependencies—the hallmark of a profession—were a liability. If, for example, eight teachers are all mutually involved, sharing, and caring for one another, and two of their colleagues left every year, the ties would become liabilities. Hence, the "egg crate" school configuration was a good solution: plug teachers into their own separate classroom, when they leave replace them; when more teachers are needed, add on more classroom units. All this growth, decline, and changing faculty hardly affects the other teachers safely hidden in their separated classroom.

In these five schools, teachers expressed worry about their "revolving door" colleagues. As teachers came to depend more and more on the support, knowledge, and skills of their building colleagues, they worried about attrition, lay-offs and those seniority rules and transfer plans that "bumped" teachers from one school to another, despite the growing common culture of schools designed actively by teachers *working together.*. And teachers wondered whether the teachers' union understood the consequences of strong professional ties among teachers in particular schools. Further, they worried about the union's policies regarding transfer, lay-offs (reductions in force), promotion, and pay structure. Traditional union practices may thus violate the emerging culture of schools where teachers shape their own environments.

3) *Voice and Visibility*

One thing all teachers are learning from cooperation and collaboration is a new "voice" through their expanded roles (see Hirschman, 1963). New

found unity has given power to voice and a sharpness to teachers' visibility in planning and guiding schools. These new schools are departures from traditional schools where administrators and teachers had a kind of tacit agreement. Principals left teachers to their duties (sometimes called "autonomy"); in return, principals were free to run their schools in their own way (called "control"). Even schools with strict curricula left implementation to each teacher, as long as things were quiet and orderly.

One teacher contrasted her previous experience at another school with her new school in this way: "In the traditional high school, I don't think anyone paid any attention to what you were doing as long as the required amount of students passed your classes . . . Nobody cared about your ideas or what you were doing. You had your course outline that they probably gave you and as long as you followed it, nobody bothered you. But on the other hand, nobody asked your opinions about anything either." Another teacher explained:

> In the school I worked in [before], everything was handed to you, right down to what you should be doing in class everyday. No one in my other school ever talked about their lessons and what they were teaching or how they were teaching. It was very strange. It was more like, "don't talk about school things." They talked about other things when they had free time.

The culture of separateness, each teacher unto him- or herself, had its advantages in the short run, especially for good, confident teachers who enjoyed their invisibility and their "being left alone" to teach. Instead of getting professional support and satisfaction from other adults, teachers turned to intrinsic rewards through the growth of individual students (Lortie, 1975). The overall success of the school was of minor concern to most teachers since their role and influence focused on their own classroom with their own pupils.

But even the most self-directed pedagogues need to see themselves as responsible for the large organization. In the redesigned schools in this study, teachers are making decisions that affect the whole enterprise, even assuming responsibility for both their own professional growth and for the development and achievements of their colleagues. First came the ability to speak, to be heard, to have "voice" within the organization. Second, from voice developed attention and visibility, which led to the ability to influence outcomes. The change from invisibility and organizational silence, to centrality and influence, had its costs, however. Once teachers joined the school decision-making process, they had to commit to seeing it through. They had to take responsibility for their actions and the sometimes tedious process of democratic decision-making.

One teacher reported, "[Shared decision making] it's kind of a problem because it's more difficult to get things done that way. There's a lot of meetings but there's not a lot of decisive action taken at them. From what I've heard, people would like a little less shared decision making and a little more top-down just to get things moving and to see that certain problems are attacked very quickly."

Time and over-commitment (too much voice and visibility) can be a problem. At all five schools, teachers were not excused from fulfilling their regular roles and obligations while they engaged in organizational re-creation and re-form. Students still expected teachers' full attention and effort, good lessons, continuing interest in their welfare. Teachers, too, were still bound to perform mundane duties, such as filling out school district forms on desegregation, handicapped students, bus transportation, academic reports and letters home.

Thus, teachers found themselves increasingly harried—having to tend business in the school, engage in shared decision-making, and perform collegial duties such as observing another teacher in the classroom. Furthermore, the demands of teaching, decision-making, and colleague-building sometimes "bumped up against" district office demands, requirements, and standards of behavior. One administrator received an unsatisfactory rating from his supervisor in the central office for not filling out forms on time. The principal reported having more important things to do including more interaction with teachers in re-designing the school.

4) Teaching *as a Thinking Act*

An ultimate goal of redesigning schools for teaching is to enable teachers to learn and grow as part of their daily lives in schools. Without life-long learning and growth, teachers cannot hope to stay dedicated, learned, and up-to-date, and to renew their interest and enthusiasm. Otherwise, after years of teaching, the process becomes routine and the teacher's mind goes on "automatic pilot."

Teachers must learn and grow everyday, not on a yearly training day. How do schools move away from a paradigm of staff development which limits teachers to learning in an occasional workshop afternoon? Or in the words of one veteran teacher: "The workshops provide shopping lists of things to do. All those workshops keep me from being the individual who I am." Another teacher revealed: "In your career, you gotta figure out something for yourself or else it [teaching] gets mundane."

Teachers at these schools, designed by teachers, were beginning to struggle with control over their own professional development. They had begun to raise important issues of self-awareness and growth. One said,

"The hardest thing is to figure out your own needs." This teacher had his own teaching portfolio of lessons, tests, activities, students' work, and he was "starting to put things down on paper about what I want to be able to do." Another reflected on her new role as a teacher in a professional practice school:

> Just from my heart—there is just a wonderful sense of teacher scholarship. The teacher as scholar is not the same as the teacher as some little cloistered school marm . . . Someone who is out there thinking, discussing, and researching. Someone who is at home with the university and with the kids. Someone who is a well-developed, polished professional is coming out of all this.

Conclusions and Implications

These results are encouraging. Teachers, as they design their own schools, are redesigning their own roles, their own development, and their own purposes. Engaging teachers in making schools into better teaching institutions has the double benefit of improving the work environment of teachers (and the learning settings for students) while strengthening the professionalism of teachers. The two processes—school design and role enhancement—go hand in hand.

This study found that teachers in these five schools were meeting regularly with peers as they began to assume joint responsibility for individual and organizational growth. Data suggest that teacher collegiality requires increased *teacher affinity.* While traditionally organized schools allow teachers to get along without caring for, or even liking their colleagues, and without respecting each other's competencies, the redesigned school demands getting to know colleagues, learning to work with them, and respecting their individual strengths.

In these schools, teachers, administrators, and university colleagues are "making time to stick together and talk." Teachers are publicly demonstrating their competencies, skills, knowledge, and expertise. As teachers assume more responsibility for their own collective growth, staff development (as formal "in-service training") is no longer the sole provider of information and help. Negatively, too, as visibility (see Kanter, 1977), unity, and common activity increase, so does the likelihood of role conflicts, inter-staff disagreements, and a heightened sense of teacher vulnerability. Working alone in their classrooms, teachers are not regularly asked to demonstrate to peers their competence and skill.

Now, however, they are having to show their wares—forcing some further into the protective shell of their classrooms and students. While the overall impact of shared planning, collegial effort, and group identity is

likely to be positive for the redesigned school, leaders should be mindful of the risks that some teachers take. The danger of teachers becoming collective decision-makers is that the "group" will fail to tolerate the "individual," will shut their ears to the dissonants among them, and will reject the non-conformist ("creative") teacher. It would be a great (sad) irony if teachers imposed a stricter orthodoxy on themselves, a kind of *group think*, that is more controlling than administrators' mandates. Thus, a tyranny of the group could replace the tyranny of management. "Bottom-up" control, if misapplied, could be as detrimental to teacher professionalism as "top-down" bureaucratic control—more so since collegial manipulation may involve friends and neighbors within a school.

In summary, schools need teachers not just to do what they are told, but to take an active role in setting the stage, the agenda, and governing schools. Teachers know best but are asked last. Even in classroom practices, policies are set and teachers "follow" them.

Teachers in this study have begun to define themselves in new ways. They reformed their work and thus altered the work of their students. As earlier research indicates, when teachers have voice, students have voice (McNeil, 1986). Similarly, in schools where teachers are learners, students value their own learning. Perhaps Rosenholtz expressed it best when she wrote:

> . . .the choice is between a professional, egalitarian culture whose visible hands nourish highly qualified teachers with technical growth, with optimism about change, with spirited inventiveness, and with growing liberty from classroom failures, versus an unyielding bureaucracy who sees in the empowerment of teachers only the threat of lost control; in their participatory decision-making, the victory of mediocrity; in their professionalization, the specter for even greater educative disorder. (1989, pp. 215-216)

Teachers in the five schools in this study engaged in changing their roles, their work, and in redesigning their schools. In so doing, they also changed themselves. But the hard work has just begun.

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CHAPTER 5

When—Teachers are School-District Decision Makers

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The participation of teachers in decision making is believed to help everyone in the school organization (Conley, 1991; Johnson, 1990). It brings teachers into the policy-making process. It is thought to heighten their involvement in work and increase satisfaction, loyalty, and motivation. It shifts authority closer to the classroom, meaning perhaps that the professionals who know pupils best can also influence key policies and programs. Further, it is thought to cut through bureaucracy, red tape, and external controls that many believe stifle school flexibility, responsiveness, and quality. Even big business (e.g., IBM) is "flattening out" its organizational structure, reducing layers of control, and increasing the influence of workers and managers at the work site. The ultra-successful "Saturn Project" at General Motors, for another example, is a living testament to what worker teams can do when they control their production roles and activities.

Teachers, too, have long had discretion in the classroom, and recently at the school site as well. And thus to date most studies of teacher leadership and their participation in decision making have been conducted at the school level (see Conley, 1991) with little systematic investigation of teacher involvement in *district-level* governance. This focus on the school is not surprising given the traditional role of teachers in their classrooms and schools, and the recent emphasis on school-based management and shared decision making.

Since the 1960s, teachers have come to realize that they need clout not only at the chalkface and in their schools, but in their districts as well. Teachers in many districts sought formalized, collective rights and authority under the banner of the labor movement, gaining the right to bargain, to be protected by contracts, the right to grieve, and even to strike when school boards refused to hear the demands of teachers at the district level. Unionization was not enough, however. Teachers, moving beyond better

pay, benefits, and grievance protection, wanted a say in how schools were run. Teachers traveled into new territory: shared governance that went beyond, even waived, contractual provisions. Indeed, school systems are experimenting with a variety of decision-making structures for shared decision making at the district level (Kerchner & Koppich, 1991; see also Hallinger & Richardson, 1988). Little evidence exists, however, to guide these initiatives or to understand what happens when teachers make district-level decisions.

Most studies of participatory decision making focus on teacher involvement and outcomes. Absent are good analyses of how teachers' involvement affects others (Hart 1990). By definition, participatory decision making is interactive and mutually influential for teachers and administrators. While it is widely recognized that administrators play pivotal roles in the success of innovation generally (Fullan, 1991; Huberman & Miles, 1984) and teacher work redesign in particular (Lieberman, 1988; Little, 1988), very few studies have examined specifically their influences on participatory decision making. Fewer still have explored the influence of participatory decision making on administrators' work. These issues—district administrators' involvement and influence in participatory decision making and the consequences for their work roles—are subjects of this case.

Organizing Concepts

While the education literature is largely silent, theory and research on expanded employee participation in other organizations, particularly industrial organizations, provide a framework for exploring consequences of participatory decision making for district administrators. This framework is suggested by two hypotheses concerning influence and control in participatory organizations (Bartolke, Eschweiler, Flechsenberger, & Tannenbaum, 1982). This first is a "power equalization" hypothesis which suggests a reduction of power and status differences between supervisors and subordinates (Strauss, 1963) as employees begin to "participate" in making decisions. In general, teachers gain status as they become part of the decision-making process. According to Kavcic and Tannenbaum (1981):

> The rank and file exercises a degree of control in the participative organization that it does not exercise in the nonparticipative organization, thus reducing (if not eliminating) the large power differential that ordinarily exists between groups at the bottom and at the top of the hierarchy. (p. 401)

A second hypothesis suggests that employee participation and gover-

nance increase the total amount of control in an organization (Tannenbaum, 1976), coming in fact from growth in employee control with or without reductions in management control. In effect, areas once left to individual discretion at both the top and the bottom now become legitimate domains for shared control. The net effect is the growth in accountability among levels and in areas once untouched. March and Simon (1958) explain: "'Participative management' can be viewed as a device for permitting management to participate more fully in the making of decisions as well as a means for expanding the influence of lower echelons in the organization" (p. 54).

Bartolke and his colleagues (1982) offer a corollary to this second hypothesis. They contend that if employee participation does in fact enhance the control exercised by members, it may also increase the accountability and control to which members are subject. As they explain,

> The control that members exercise within the company is, after all, exercised over other members. Thus, if the likelihood of exercising more control is one of the benefits of participation to members, the likelihood of being subject to greater control is perhaps one of the costs. (p. 395)

These hypotheses suggest several consequences of participatory decision making for district administrators. First, participatory decision making may alter the nature and hierarchical distribution of control and influence in district-level governance. Such changes could be significant or relatively small. For example, studies of the German tradition of worker participation, *Mitbestimmungstrecht*, found that a hierarchical distribution of control persists even in the most participative of that nation's companies. Bartolke et al. (1982) indicate that "[p]articipation appears to have the effect of increasing the control exercised by workers without decreasing that of managers" (p. 394). Therefore, teacher participation in district-level decision making could leave largely unaffected accommodations and "zones of acceptance" (Kunz & Hoy, 1976) defining authority relationships with the district office (Hannaway & Sproull, 1978-79; Peterson, Murphy, & Hallinger, 1987).

It is also conceivable that participatory decision making could alter the nature of administrator accountability and expectations for job performance. For example, administrator accountability has traditionally been product-oriented; as lone operatives, managers paid less attention to the *processes* of administration (Blumberg, 1985; Cuban, 1988). Under participatory decision making, district administrators may become accountable for the integrity of decision-making processes since they have invested their employees' time—and their own—in determining goals, programs,

and outcomes. They may be accountable for products and decisions that are made with or by others. Indeed, pressure for performance may increase because of the high-risk, high-profile nature of participatory decision-making initiatives (see Kerchner & Koppich, 1991). All these possibilities spell increased organizational control over administrators' work.

Finally, it is possible that participatory decision making could exert a marked change in vital "stakeholder" relationships within the school organization (see Henry, Dickey, & Areson, 1991). These relationships—with unions, parents, business and political leaders, and the community—are the very foundation of district administrators' ability to get work done and their accountability to school boards. Participatory decision making may change the positioning of teachers and traditional stakeholders, bringing altered interests, goals, and values into district governance (Swidler, 1979). Such changes can be significantly at odds with the traditional "culture of authority" of school systems (Elmore, 1987).

The District Setting

This case study was conducted in a midwestern, suburban school district enrolling 3,200 kindergarten through 8th grade students in six primary and intermediate schools and one junior high school. The school district serves children from a mainly upper-middle income community, a naval air base, and a lower-income mobile-home park. The district employees 220 teachers and 9 building-level administrators. District-level administrators, all of whom were subjects for this case, include the Superintendent, the Director of Personnel, the Director of Finance, the Director of Instruction, and a Curriculum Coordinator.

In 1989, the Board of Education approved a new, three-year collective bargaining agreement, negotiated with the district's teachers' union (an NEA affiliate), that fundamentally restructured decision making and governance throughout the district. This agreement, described by the district as its "constitution," is driven by a set of principles about the learning and development of children and the professional obligations of teachers and administrators employed by the district. While the agreement affirms the Board's final responsibility for district governance, it states that in exercising its role, the Board "shares with the professional staff through a collaborative consensus decision-making model the responsibility for determining how the goals and mission of the district might be achieved."

New Decision-Making Structures. To these ends, the bargaining agreement created new opportunities for teachers to participate in program and policy decisions at the school and district levels. In addition to different school-level structures, the agreement established three district-level standing

committees for making decisions: (a) a Personnel Committee for teacher personnel policy and welfare, (b) a Finance Committee for district finance and budget, and (c) an Education Committee for curriculum and instruction. A subcommittee structure further divided responsibility of the latter committee by subject matter area (e.g., reading and language arts, math, etc.). The membership of each standing committee consisted of three teachers elected by teachers across the district, a fourth teacher who was union president, one principal, a district-level administrator, and the Superintendent. Subcommittee memberships consisted primarily of teachers who volunteered for their positions but also a principal and the district's Director of Instruction. The agreement stipulated that the chairperson of each of these committees be a teacher. Committee decisions were subject to Board approval only if they required adjustments in the budget. These committees and their work over the first two years of the bargaining agreement are focus of this case.

These structures shifted the locus of governance and decision making from district administration and traditional union-management negotiations to collaborative deliberations among teachers and administrators. The bargaining agreement built processes for collaboration through the use of consensus, whereby every participant must support the work of the group or nothing moves ahead. These processes were preserved by limiting disputes that may be grieved and by entrusting the resolution of most previously grievable disputes to the new decision-making bodies, especially the district-level coordinating council.

Collaborative Context. The bargaining agreement, these new decision making structures and accompanying changes in work roles and responsibilities were developed on a foundation of collaboration and stability in labor-management relations. At the time of the agreement, both the Superintendent and the union President had held their positions for extended periods of time—20 years and 7 years respectively. Their working relationship was collegial and founded on mutual respect and trust. From the beginning of his tenure, the Superintendent had organized his administration to support rather than direct activity at the school level. This relationship was neither traditionally hierarchical nor bureaucratic. While teachers were infrequently involved directly in making decisions at the district level, new programs and policies were rarely adopted formally without first being shared with them. Finally, the district had created a teacher career enhancement program that established a number of different leadership roles for individual teachers. This program was jointly planned by groups of teachers and administrators. These conditions established a sense of trust among teachers and administrators and a formal precedent for expanded teacher participation in decision making at the district level.

The Committees' Work

The work of each district-level committee over the first two years of the bargaining agreement is summarized below (see Smylie, Brownlee-Conyers, & Crowson, 1991, for a more detailed analysis.)

The Personnel Committee. The Personnel Committee was chartered by the bargaining agreement to address general issues of teacher rights and welfare and to develop and monitor the implementation of a new teacher evaluation system. During the first two years of the agreement, this committee addressed a variety of welfare issues including a no-smoking policy, teacher access to school buildings after hours, methods of informing teachers of within-district teaching vacancies, and guidelines for nominating teachers for various state and national awards. The committee heard several cases brought by teachers concerning leaves of absence, salary lane advancement, and tutoring district students after hours for compensation. It also began developing a program for teachers' personal emotional and pyschological well being.

Most of this committee's work focused on developing a new teacher evaluation system for the district. As mandated by state law, the new system made provisions for appointing consulting teachers to work with teachers whose performance and improvement were rated unsatisfactory. Beginning the second year of the bargaining agreement, the primary focus of the committee turned to develop consulting teacher roles and criteria for identifying and selecting them.

The Finance Committee. This committee was charged with the task of developing policies in the areas of salaries and fringe benefits and instructional expenditures. It could make recommendations to the Board in developing the entire district budget. During the first two years of the agreement, this committee was relatively inactive, with salaries and benefits for a three-year period being determined during collective negotiations between the union and the Board. Near the end of the second year, this committee became more active, preparing for bargaining in two areas: (a) benefits, including health and life insurance, and (b) personnel policies. It began to evaluate insurance providers and to study the long-term standing of district finances following a property reassessment and a proposed state law capping property taxes.

The Education Committee and Subcommittees. The subcommittees made most of the curricula, instructional, and staff development decisions at the district level. Goals, scopes and sequences, and skills for instruction were determined within several of these committees. The groups examined materials and approaches to staff improvement to support new curricula and instructional programs.

During the first year of the agreement, the Education Committee created guidelines for restructuring the school day, to alter teacher responsibilities and class schedules, all to permit teachers to plan and work collaboratively on curriculum and teaching. During the second year, this committee assessed plans developed by the district's seven schools. In all, then, the Education Committee and its subcommittees worked to improve the classroom program in various subjects and plans were developed to evaluate its effects on students. Finally, the Committee started to redefine the individual teacher leadership roles developed prior to the bargaining agreement, making them more supportive of participatory decision making as established in that agreement.

Collaboration in Decision Making

During the first two years of the bargaining agreement, district administrators and teachers were actively involved in each of the district-level committee's deliberations. Both teacher and administrator committee members agreed that district administrators participated as partners with teachers as opposed to initiators, leaders, or directors of committee work. No one described administrator participation as dominating or controlling. Regardless of the committee or the issue, no one recalled what one district administrator called "power surges" from either administrators or teachers. As the district Personnel Director observed:

> Committee members lose their position identity while serving on the committees. Some of the teachers have started to sound like administrators and conversely some of the administrators have started to sound like teachers. . . . It's not very conspicuous as to who is an administrator, who is a teacher. . .

Committee decisions appeared co-constructed from both teacher and administrator points of view. In addition, several important factors seemed to promote collaboration and discourage competition and conflict, both traditional by-products of adversarial union-management relations.

1) Leadership. Formal authority was vested by the bargaining agreement in teachers who chair each committee and subcommittee. These teachers set meeting agendas, control debate procedurally, and pace discussions.

2) Consensus-Building. The bargaining agreement stipulated that committees should reach consensus before making decisions, equilibrating the power and influence among and between teacher and administrator members. As one teacher-chair attested, "We tear up [the Superintendent's] ideas as readily as he tears up ours."

3) Basis of Participation. The bargaining agreement served as a touchstone of principles for participatory decision making and of a logic of the relationship between participation and service to children. Several teachers and administrators referred to the agreement as a "normative reference," a "rallying point," or our "conceptual mooring." The union President observed that "Whenever the committees got off track and we couldn't figure out what we were doing, somebody would pull the agreement out and say, 'Okay, let's look at this again.' It grounded people."

The Superintendent contended that the principles of the agreement allowed both teachers and administrators to transcend their traditional roles and self-interests and work together on problems of mutual concern. Underlying this process was a general shared commitment to participatory decision making. Again, the Superintendent: "I have no qualms whatsoever about it. This is the way to go . . . There is no question in my mind that this is the salvation of public instruction."

Finally, administrators and teachers acknowledge a new-found interdependence—a sense that unless everyone cooperated in sharing knowledge and skills, the district could not solve its problems or accomplish its goals. Hence, collaboration and cooperation, not competition and distrust, became the basis of decision making.

Administrator Influence on Decision Making

This collaborative, constructivist pattern of involvement does not mean that district administrators were passive or disinterested members of these committees. Like teachers, they brought to the committees their own interests and attempted to persuade others to their points of view. Indeed, district administrators exercised influence over committee deliberations and outcomes that extended beyond persuasion.

Facilitating Committee Work. Facilitating committee work and decision making was one of several forms of influence exerted by district administrators. At first, most teachers were duly deferential and reserved toward district administrators. Some were slow to accept their responsibilities in the bargaining agreement. For the most part, district administrators found that they had to press collaboration. Although most teachers and administrators recognized the early lopsidedness of the "shared" relationship and the potential for abuse, no one accused administrators of controlling committee work or advancing individual agendas as teachers adjusted to their new roles.

District administrators promoted teacher responsibility for decision making in several ways. For example, the district's Director of Instruction worked closely with teachers to develop their leadership skills, run meetings

effectively, maintain a focus during debate and discussion, resolve conflicts, develop consensus, and reach closure on issues. She considered herself a teacher and a coach for the committees. The union President said: "[She] is very good at . . . standing back and having teachers chair the meetings, plan the agendas, sit down and figure out the in-services and who can lead them. [Teachers] take on more responsibility if there's not someone to do it [for them]."

The Superintendent recalled his role as arbiter to resolve disputes within several of the committees on which he served. Unlike the Director of Instruction, the Superintendent did not work actively to develop teachers' capacities to reach agreement. He instead assumed leadership to resolve conflicts and to steer the committee toward consensus. Like the Superintendent, the Personnel Director assumed a direct role in promoting decision making, keeping the committee on which he served focused to "get business done."

Shaping the Substance of Decisions. District administrators influenced the substance of decisions through the knowledge they brought to the process and through their control over it. Administrators and teachers brought different expertise to the decision process, each depending upon the other for the full picture. Routinely, teachers contributed information and perspectives from their work at the school and classroom levels, while administrators informed the "bigger picture" in such areas as budget development, district finances, and local, state, and federal policies and regulations. Administrators understood "how the pieces fit together" and where to find relevant information, including research reports, consultants, and personnel from other districts, professional associations, and regional universities.

District administrators considered information sharing as their most valuable contribution to the committees' work as well as a source of influence. Administrators insisted that their interdependence with teachers required good, timely information. Operating here was a simple logic: teachers like administrators would reach the same conclusions if both groups had all the relevant information. Hence, district administrators' interests shifted from *controlling* information to *sharing* it, ensuring that everyone had access.

Another way in which district administrators affected the substance of committee work was their influence over the process of decision making. The Superintendent spoke of trying to keep a "substantive focus" and to "move beyond the trivial" to issues of "central concern." This translated into decision making related to teaching and learning, as opposed to pure "administrative" matters.

Administrators also influenced the pace of decision making. When

teachers were rushing to "premature closure" without complete information or without adequately consulting other teachers and principals, district administrators moved to slow decision making, allowing more time for study and "inputs from others." For example, the Mathematics Subcommittee moved to realign the math objectives, scope and sequence of content, and instructional materials for 1st through 6th grades. Also, the group decided to eliminate all mathematics ability grouping in kindergarten through 3rd grade. These decisions were reached after only one week's deliberation during a summer work session without consulting other teachers and principals. Before formal adoption, the Director of Instruction quickly organized a meeting of staff working that summer, to which the subcommittee was asked to make a presentation. After discussion, the subcommittee altered several of their decisions, making them more acceptable to other teachers.

In a second example, teachers on the Personnel Committee wanted to require that teacher collegiality and participation in school social activities be criteria for performance evaluation. District administrators were concerned that other teachers in the district might oppose such criteria. The Personnel Director, like the Director of Instruction above, delayed the decision to adopt these criteria until more teachers were informed, at which time the committee dropped the social participation criteria from their considerations.

In both cases, district administrators influenced the content of shared decisions, though indirectly, by bringing in teachers outside the committee process. In so broadening the deliberations, district administrators ensured a better decision, expanded involvement, and helped make district-level decisions more acceptable to teachers throughout the district. In a sense, these administrators may have protected teachers from themselves by preventing them from ignoring their peers—an accusation that administrators often hear.

Influences on Administrators' Work

While district administrators influence participatory decision making in ways described above, participatory decision making also influences administrators' work.

Leveling Work Roles. Under systems of participatory decision making, administrators may lose formal authority through a leveling of work roles. This affect was promoted in this case by committee structures that gave teachers the majority membership and required that teachers serve as committee chairs. Consensus requirements, too, meant that administrators could not "stop" the process unilaterally. Under these arrangements,

administrators, and teachers became highly interdependent to get things done.

As the Director of Instruction explained, participatory decision making heightened administrators' need to listen to teachers because of the important information they possess. "Going to teachers," reports the Personnel Director, "helps us to anticipate what some of the problems are going to be, what some of the responses are going to be ... It helps us modify our course because we know what isn't going to work based on the feedback we receive."

Similarly, administrators increasingly realized the value of information held by teachers about students and classrooms. They reported that committee deliberations provided critically important information for decisions that was not available to them in their normal work-a-day lives. This form of interdependence narrowed position-related status differences between teachers and administrators and heightened levels of communication between the classroom and the district. As one teacher explained, "My teacher ideas are just as rich as your Mr. Superintendent ideas!"

From Acting Alone to Acting Together. Participatory decision making redefined administrators' roles by making decisions "shared" that once were made alone, albeit occasionally after consulting teachers' or the teachers contract. While narrowing the scope of unilateral administrative action is an axiomatic effect of shared decision making, the process was somewhat complicated by the issue of who makes which decisions where. While the bargaining agreement provided key guidelines, substantial ambiguity remained about what decisions fell to the committees and which remained the prerogative of administration. In effect, what was the job of administration and what was to be referred to the group?

While general agreement existed among teachers and administrators about domains for participatory decision making, the boundaries between program and policy development and management were not very sharp. District administrators responded to this ambiguity in several ways. Some deferred almost everything to committee, rather than risk abrogating implicit committee authority. District administrators came to realize that evoking the larger committee system was slower than the use of executive fiat. However, administrators in this case suggested that it was "safer" to err on the side of participation than to assume that a committee "shouldn't be bothered" with certain decisions.

To make things move along a bit faster and smoother, district administrators began to triage issues, to see which were really important to teachers and which were not. Rightfully or wrongly, the Superintendent maintained that "teachers basically want to make decisions that impact what they are doing in the classroom and on their working conditions. They really don't

care about things related to the wider management of the district." He explained that administrators "get paid to make certain decisions themselves." This assumption led to some sorting of policy issues from "nitty-gritty" management, with policy being shared with teachers and micromanagement being handled by administrators alone.

For example, the Superintendent referred to the Personnel Committee deliberations about whether teachers should have access to school buildings after hours. He argued that access was a legitimate policy issue for committee deliberation. However, he contended that the debate that ensued about how teachers should get keys to open the buildings could have been handled more efficiently by central administration. Hence, not only has participatory decision making signaled a shift from unilateralism to sharing, it also has promoted distinctions between decisions related to policy making and program development—which were shared with teachers—from management of the system—which could best be handled by administration.

New Accountability. Shared decision making is a strange phenomenon. On the one hand, it gets everyone off the hook, since individuals can always accede to the group. Administrators, for example, are relieved of accountability when decisions are shared among many. As one district administrator explained, "Decisions have less adversarial impact when shared." Administrators have less need to "protect themselves." They can point to teachers to explain "bad decisions."

However, participatory decision making increases administrators' accountability for following decisions to their outcomes and for preserving the fidelity of the decision-making process. According to one administrator in the study, "If you don't follow the system, you get into trouble." The bargaining agreement and the process of shared governance itself make administrators and teachers mutually accountable for acting in accordance with processes and procedures and for "living with" the results.

For district administrators, accountability extended beyond how they participate in the process. In addition to being increasingly accountable to teachers, the Superintendent remained ultimately accountable to the Board for the effects of participatory decision making, no matter how democratic it may be. He described his accountability as follows:

> The bottom line is the kids. . . . Sooner or later the pie is going to hit me in the face and [the Board] is going to say 'Okay, this has cost us a bundle over the past few years, what more are we getting.' It's a legitimate question.

Accountability for outcomes is nothing new for district administrators. While the process of reaching decisions within the system may be new, the

final accounting by superintendents to boards has not changed. Where final power is held by lay boards of education, democratically elected, we see a possible collision between administrator control and descretion and participatory decision making.

Conclusions and Implications

This case of participatory decision making at the district level is exploratory and bound by the local nature of the inquiry. However, a number of points can be made about the implications for district administrators.

First, as suggested by the conceptual framework, the case illustrates a trend toward a dispersal and equalization of control and influence in district-level governance. Equalization came not only in increased formal authority for teachers but also in their substantive contributions to program and policy decisions. At the same time, district administrators' influence over district governance did not necessarily diminish. Instead, its focus shifted from formal authority and direct control toward more indirect influence over the process and content of shared decision making.

Second, the case suggests that under participatory decision making, total control in the school organization may actually increase. Increased control may come from subjecting decisions that were previously made unilaterally by administration and decisions that were previously made at the school and classroom levels by teachers to shared deliberation. In addition, increased control may come from significant changes in the accountability of school administrators. Indeed, this case illustrates that administrator accountability may expand to include *process* as well as *decisions* and *outcomes*. Furthermore, this case suggests that a shift may occur in the relationships of stakeholders that make administrators more directly accountable to teachers but no less accountable to their boards.

In addition to these conclusions, a number of suggestions can be made to help educational leaders promote participatory decision making.

1) A contract can provide precedent and direction for collaboration. Some union leaders fear, as do some school district administrators, that participatory decision making may obviate the teachers' contract and throw the process back to renegotiating everything all the time. Instead, this case shows that a contract can become a basis for shared decision making, a guide, a kind of "constitution" for the process.

2) Teachers may be hesitant to lead. One cannot presume that teachers know how to make decisions at the district level or how to engage in shared leadership. Thus, part of the process may be teaching teachers to participate, much like superintendents help new board members understand ways of running meetings, staying on target, and reaching decisions.

3) Non-directive leadership may work best building leadership among teachers. Findings from this case study suggest that non-directive leadership on the part of administrators may gain teacher trust and involvement.

4) Teacher leadership at the district level may take time to develop. Teachers are not used to interacting as "equals" with district administrators on issues of policy and procedures, particularly those issues for which administrators have traditionally had the prerogative. It may take a substantial amount of time for trust to develop and for teachers and administrators to develop knowledge and skills for working together productively.

5) Consensus processes may prevent politicking and power plays to control decision making. The process of consensus in this case and its legitimation in the bargaining agreement influenced both teachers and administrators to come around and to convince one another, rather than to count votes and force issues against the will of the minority or indeed to develop a tyranny of the majority.

6) Giving teachers formal authority in participatory decision-making structures may promote teacher involvement. In this case, the bargaining agreement's provision that teachers chair decision making committees may have promoted more substantive participation in decision making and reduced the likelihood that teachers would serve only as symbolic actors in the process.

Finally, this case presents an interesting irony. The district's bargaining agreement provided a model for collaborative decision making, though in this case it represented an extension of existing relations. Collective bargaining, once considered a radical departure from the professionalism of teaching, became a conserving, accepted, and useful process for promoting other forms of shared governance. Until recently, many union advocates argued that making teachers part of management teams violated the spirit, if not the laws, of labor relations. After all, if teachers joined management, made decisions once reserved for administration, and had authority over other teachers, then they ran the risk of becoming part of "management" and thus forfeited rights to negotiate as "labor."

The famous *Yeshiva University* law case found that because college teachers helped to hire, promote, and even fire fellow faculty, they were *ipso facto* management and lost their access to union recognition and union-management collective bargaining. One possible result, then, of participatory decision making in public schools is the risk of forfeiting collective negotiating rights. It would be a tremendous irony if bargaining agreements, a model of participatory democracy, should be jeopardized by more direct forms of shared governance.

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Implications of Teacher Leadership for Administrator Training and Practice. . .

CHAPTER 6

When Is Now: A Plan of Action

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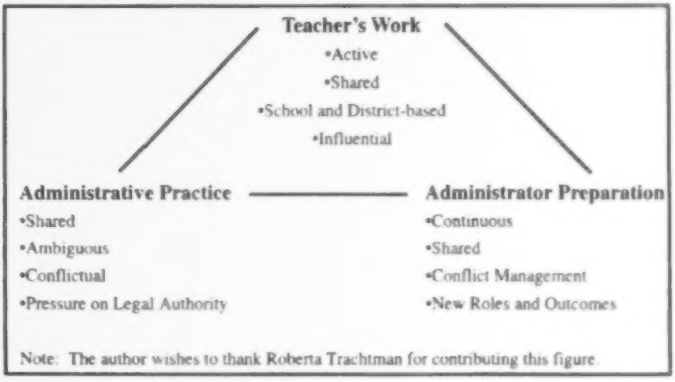
What if teachers did become leaders of our nation's schools, designers of schools and work, decision-makers in each and every school, participants in district-wide policy making, and even school administrators in some buildings? What if teachers were fully empowered: active, interested, concerned, and mobilized to share in determining all important qualities of schooling across the country? and what if the "what if's" were coming true—now? From some indications teachers are indeed playing an ever-greater role in their schools, not just as pedagogues but now as policy-makers, leaders, pace-setters, and shapers of the goals, activities, and outcomes of schooling.

Yet, for all these changes, the preparation of school administrators remains oblivious to the new role of teachers. Administrators are still "trained" in programs modeled on the "behavioral" if not the "management sciences," isolated from the concerns of teachers. Just as school management has traditionally been heirarchical, top-down, and specialized, so too the traditional training of administrators has been based on the same model. Principals-in-training rarely took courses in graduate school with teachers; the concerns of teachers were almost never part of the administrators' curriculum; and the coherence of the school culture was not found in the usual administrator preparation programs. As Cooper and Boyd (1987) explained years ago, training was credit-driven, fractured, unrelated to real school problems, and part-time. Administrators-to-be hardly ever confronted real school problems, worked in groups, presented their ideas to leaders in the field (superintendents and school boards), and saw other educators as colleagues.

Teachers have taken the lead in schools, and school administrator preparation programs move ever so slowly, often proceeding as though professors and trainees were still in charge. This assumption of control, power, and coherence does not match the reality of life in many schools.

Teachers are now "out of the classroom" and in the line of fire; teachers now assert school-site power as never before, leveling the structure of schools and broadening the base of control. The more teachers collaborate, share, assert school-site power as never before, leveling the structure of schools and broadening the base of control. The more teachers collaborate, share, and assert collective influence, the more principals in training must become collaborative, sharing leaders. A complex and vital relationship between redefined teacher work, administrator practice, and administrator preparation develops, is shown in Figure 6.1. This "iron triangle" can not be overlooked since teachers are the largest, best organized, and most enduring and essential group of professionals in education.

Figure 6.1
Relationship among Teacher Work, Administrative Practice, and the Preparation of Administrators: The "Iron Triangle"



Note: The author wishes to thank Roberta Trachtman for contributing this figure.

This chapter addresses a fundamental question: How does active teacher leadership affect the role and training of traditional school administrators (from principals to superintendents and school board members) and the preparation and in-service development of teachers themselves?

Change in Context

Teachers' work is embedded in the organization of schools and the history of American education and is not easily changed. The traditional design relied on careful differentiation of tasks patterned after definitions of professional roles and responsibilities, separating (some would even say, isolating) teachers from others who work in schools. Access to these roles

(e.g., teacher, supervisor, administrator, superintendent) depend largely on the acquisition of credit hours, university degrees, and ultimately, state certification. Teachers, principals, counselors, psychologists, special education teachers all came to view their work as departmentalized and discrete, bringing distinct knowledge and skills to the problems of children and youth in schools. The chapters by Conley and Robles, Trachtman, Cooper, and Smylie portray changes in these fundamental realities of teachers' work, which alter the distribution of tasks and authority in schools.

But, what if these changes occurred all across the country? What would be the implications for the training and practice of school administration in particular and education (and teaching) in general? While reformers have concentrated primarily on redefining the work of teachers—the core professionals in schools—any fundamental redesign that changes tasks, authority, rewards, and relationships also reverberates throughout the organization, particularly affecting the work of immediate supervisors, in this case the principals and assistant principals (Hackman & Oldham, 1980; Hart, 1990). In fact, the entire concept of the school as an organization is bound to change if teachers move over the traditional boundaries of classroom and instruction into decision making, policy making, and leadership.

The reforms described in this volume affected teachers' careers and leadership in three ways. They changed 1) the influence and expert authority of educators, 2) the sociology of the teaching profession and career, and 3) the power and micropolitics of interactions in schools (see Table 6.1). In brief, there are relationships between the areas of change and their influence on practice and training:

1) Influence and Expert Authority were reshaped by the direct participation of teachers, the differentiation of power and influence among teachers themselves, and the leveling of school system hierarchies through decentralization and teacher involvement in decisions. In effect, control moved from the titular leaders to their former subordinates, the teachers, upsetting the traditional line of authority from school board to teacher.

2) Sociology of the Teacher's Career and Profession was dramatically changed through the replacement of top-down, "executive" decision-making to professional consensus and persuasion, the increased specialization of teacher knowledge as they work in groups, and the concomitant differentiation of teachers' work to meet special and varied needs. Teachers are no longer simply pedagogues; instead, they are now contributors to policy-making based on their interests and knowledge of the classroom and students. These new roles mean an on-going change in the behavioral and normative career structures of teachers, with an impact on earning power

Table 6.1. Implications of Teacher Work Change

Change in Teacher Work/Leadership	Mechanism of Change	Administration Practice Effects	Implications for Training
1. Influence and Expert Authority	1. Direct participation in decisions	• Team building and group process skills leading teams of equal professionals—leadership teams the norm	• Increased empahsis on teams, group processes, professional work rather than written bureaucratic structures
	2. Differentiation of power and influence among teachers	• Ambiguity and more idisyncratic realtionships with individuals and groups of teachers	• Empahsis on professional anaylsis and diagnosis, techniques of continuous professional learning such as reflection
	3. Leveling of administrative hierarchy	• Decreased usefulness of formal authority	• Expert and charismatic authority needed to demonstrate skill and knowledge critical to school outcomes
2. Sociology of the profession and Career	1. Rise in professional consensus and persuasion as decison norms	• Increased use of knowledge and professionalism—good of students as authority	• Ability to use interventions and actions achieve to desired outcomes
	2. Increase of specialized teacher knowledge within collaborative groups	• More collaborative teams—groups of different but equal professors	• Collaborative skills; social information processing, sense making
	3. Increased differentiation of teacher work designs to meet special needs (variety)	• More diversity of knowledge and response repertoires—more complex	• Increased complexity (personal and professional) more diverse
	4. Ongoing change in teacher behavioral and normative career structures	• Need for unique skills and knowledge of transtion leadership	• Transition leadership training
	5. Earning power options—extended contracts. More flexible and sometimes more profitable	• Loss of incentive draw to administration	• Redefinition of career
	6. Decline of union as focus for ritualized conflict with district	• Increased personal and school level conflict	• Conflict management skills and ability to work under conditions of conflict
3. Power and Micropolitics in Schools	1. Increased teacher - teacher conflict	• conflict management	
	2. New forms and seats of power. At the school and includes everyone	• Pressure on legal authority	• Redefinition of role, schools, and outcomes

through extended contracts, more flexible job descriptions, and greater financial rewards. Teachers can capture more pay by participating in the governance of schools. The locus of conflict, formerly ritualized in the interaction between the teachers' association (or union) and top management (superintendent and school board) shifted to the school, a significant development.

3) Power and Micro-Politics in the School was affected, as one might predict. Bringing teachers out of their classrooms and into the line of fire increased the likelihood of teacher-to-teacher conflict and an erosion of traditional norms of privacy, cordiality, and distance from the messy work of making policies that affect colleagues. In effect, teacher leadership meant new forms and seats of power at the school site that included almost everyone.

This chapter explores the implications of these changes in teacher authority, careers, and micro-politics for the way schools are led and governed and for the practice and training of administrators.

Changes in—Teacher Influence and Expert Authority

1) From Isolation to Participation. Teachers, as shown in the four cases in this monograph, are joining the power structure within schools and districts at varying stages. This new decision making and governance make school administrators' jobs more variable and ambiguous. It often requires that principals function as one among equals, a function that demands temperament, knowledge, and skills that many administrators now lack (Hart & Murphy, 1992). As principals and superintendents become the orchestrators and conveyors of leadership teams, the skills of team building, group process, and collaboration become more important than the traditional "management" techniques of coordination and control. Working with people, in the middle of the process, is much different than either directing them from above or communicating up and down through other people.

Training programs for school administrators should refocus the study and teaching of leadership, moving from heroic to interactive models, from principals "leading the charge" to teams sharing the burden. These new models draw more heavily on the knowledge and skills derived from organizational analysis and the study of cases (Hart, 1993). For years, organizational studies in educational administration have concentrated too much on the wrong kinds of institutions, taking their lead from corporations and not from professional associations, such as teaching hospitals, engineering firms, and others which place professionals (doctors, lawyers,

ministers, engineers) in bureaucratic settings. Oddly enough, while corporations have flattened their bureaucratic structures and adopted such innovations as total quality management and worker participation, scholars of school administration seem stuck on earlier paradigms of hierarchical organizations and controlling, top-down leadership. Programs in school administration should begin to teach that leadership is everywhere: in the classroom, schools, academic departments, libraries and sports teams, and stop pretending that only the principal is the school leader.

2) From Powerlessness to Differentiated Influence. The differentiation of power and influence among teachers, as described in earlier chapters, creates a new set of pressures for school administrators. Not all teachers participate or want to participate in these new power arrangements; many have found satisfying and self-empowering careers in the classroom, in the teacher union structure by leading in collective bargaining, executing the contract, pressing grievances against the school board, and leading fellow teachers regionally and nationally. But enough teachers have taken the lead to affect the nature of school administration making an already complex job even more complicated. How, for example, can principals be held responsible for the productivity of their schools while surrendering authority to teachers? What if a teacher is doing a poor job: will the other teachers monitor, evaluate, and even remove and incompetent colleague?

Changes in teacher roles and power affect principals in two areas. First, administrator certification and degree programs do not adequately emphasize the demands of diffused leadership in dealing with more active, directed, and empowered professionals. Managerial skills that rely on traditional constructs of authority and power provide little help in working with teachers who many have greater professional knowledge than the administrator. Conley and Robles point out that these reforms may simply transfer the political struggle from the district level to the schools, increasing the ambiguity for principals (who may not be sure of their relative authority in dealing with their bosses, the superintendents).

Teachers who were once passive recipients of directives from above are now centers of power themselves, but not all teachers are concerned with all issues. Hence, principals can rarely be sure what issues will catalyze the teachers and which concerns will be ignored or sloughed off onto administration. Relations with teachers move from some regularity to the idiosyncratic. And district level administrators have customarily handled conflict between teachers and administrators through executive fiat or through collective bargaining. Contracts and executive orders are becoming more suspect as teachers and sympathetic principals want "home grown" solutions in their schools, not standard operating procedures embedded in bargaining contracts or school district policy manuals.

In preparation programs, administrators-in-training would best benefit by working closely in class and in the "field" with teachers; trainees would be advised to practice the skills of working with a diverse group of educators (some of whom want an active leadership role and others who do not) around district-wide policies and a variety of school-site problems. Preparation should stress organizational analysis and diagnosis of schools by building level leadership (including teachers) as a means of learning to operate in more varied, complex, and confusing social settings at all levels of the school system.

3) From Hierarchy to Broad-Based Controls. Teacher leadership often results in the leveling of the administrative hierarchy and a dispersal of prerogatives previously enjoyed by school middle management. Formal authority is less useful and respected. Instead, teachers want to see administrators demonstrate their skills, sympathies, and understandings of the goals of the teachers. It is not that principals become teachers or abdicate their role entirely. Rather, teachers look to administrators to assist in processing events and information, making sense of the school system and school organization, and helping the team increase the school's effectiveness and performance. Procedural compliance loses its face legitimacy in this kind of authority context. As Smylie points out, administrators will be called upon to relate their efforts toward the work of teachers, the purpose of schooling, and the ability to show improved academic and social outcomes for students in the school. No longer will administration be its own reason for being. It will improve school productivity or cease to be important to teachers and others at the school site.

Changes in the Sociology of—The Teaching Profession and Career

1) From Semi-Professionalism to Professional Consensus. Leveling of the hierarchy opens the way for teachers to become involved for the first time in decision-making based on professional norms and consensus. Less and less frequently will administrators seek "input" from (also called "consultation" with) teachers and then go off on their own and make decisions. Absolute democracy, majority rule, was not the norm in any of the reforms described. Collegiality, experimentation, and best professional practice norms guided the changes in decision-making. Intervention and action must be tied to desired outcomes, and the leadership provided by teachers often rests on the specialized skills and knowledge they possess and bring to bear on real education problems. Administrators thus will be expected much more frequently to tie their actions and interventions to outcomes and account for the substance AND the process of decisions. But increasingly teachers will want and deserve to share the credit for improve-

ment and the blame for failure. Sharing up front relieves principals of taking the "rap" out back later on.

This new professionalism guiding decisions and involving all those with expert knowledge and interest will reshape administrators' practices and preparation needs as much as will the level hierarchy. Principals and other administrators will need *more* rather than less expert authority of their own.

2) From Lone "Expert" to Collaborative Specialist. With new tasks to be performed and teachers possessing needed information and skills, many teachers are working together with other teachers. Already, collaborative work groups in which special knowledge is held by group membership (e.g., special educators, psychologists, counselors, administrators, and teachers) are more and more common in these models. The isolated programs in which professionals (including administrators) are educated have to date done little to break down artificial professional barriers to collaboration, sharing and improvement (Welch, et al., 1992). A variety of teachers and administrators can pool their skills, interests, and concerns to the benefit of the school. Under such circumstances, the differences among educators become less important than shared vision, concern, and talents.

University training and in-service programs clearly should emphasize collaboration and should be attended by teachers, administrators, and others. Joint seminars involving students, professors, and leaders across departments in colleges of education should be held. Why college departments of curriculum, administration, and psychological services maintain such strict academic separation and non-communication is unclear, given the new levels of cross-disciplinary decision-making going on in elementary and secondary schools.

3) From Less to Greater Teacher Job Differentiation. When teachers take on leadership roles such as those Cooper described in his chapter, the need for teacher-to-teacher collaboration increases. Administrators need more diverse knowledge, a more complex professional concept, and more varied professional repertoires of knowledge and skills if they are to keep step with the changes in the work lives of teachers.

As teachers are becoming creative, active leaders in schools, administrators may be clinging to outmoded views of centralized leadership. Some scholars think leadership per se makes no real difference in organizations. Critics of leadership maintain that administrators, particularly school administrators, are so much alike that any expectation that they will have differentiated effects on school outcomes is foolish at best. Yet, the complexity of these four case studies illustrates the need for increased sophistication and variation among leaders. Teachers are taking on a whole set of new responsibilities that greatly differentiates their roles, bringing their concerns and that of traditional administration much closer together.

Training programs should respond with both structural and recruiting plans that increase the likelihood of more diverse and broadly trained schools leaders.

4) From Limited to "Open" Career Opportunities. These changes in teacher leadership may bring new career paths for teachers. Previously, teachers either left education altogether, moved into administration, or tried their hands at union leadership to fulfill a staged and meaningful career. Teachers joining colleagues in helping to lead, design, and manage schools might forge new career opportunities for teachers, a chance to make a difference without leaving education and the classroom. But this transition from classroom leader to school and school district leader can cause some conflict not only for teachers but for administrators. As teachers become more engaged in their own schools, the role of the teachers' union is also affected, as Conely and Robles, Cooper, Trachtman, and Smylie indicate.

This change in traditionally available career opportunities may limit the talent pool from which educators have drawn for principals, superintendents, and other school administrators. Preparation programs must articulate the unique role of school administration, recruit high quality students, and help them develop meaningful and satisfying careers to retain influence over the future structure and operation of schools.

Changes in—Power and School Micro-Politics

1) From Teacher Colleagueship to Teacher-to-Teacher Conflict. When teachers worked alone and administration made the key school-wide decisions, teachers were unlikely to run into another teacher when policies were made. After all, it was "the principal's job." Now, as a variety of new relationships develop and teachers come into conflict with one another in setting policies, conflict rises—meaning that everyone needs to realize that some arguments are normal and healthy. Further, older teachers, like administrators, must give room to younger, newer staff, even if it means calling off the union and granting contract "waivers" so that new ideas can be tried.

Ritualized conflict previously protected teachers and district alike. Now, with the break-down of the ritualizing structures, professional and personal conflict are on the increase in some schools. Hence, conflict management skills and the ability to work under conditions of ambiguity and conflict are critical for future leaders, particularly future principals, who previously could blame "the district" or "the union" for problems, and thus preserve a semblance of school-level cordiality, however forced.

When teachers taught and administrators made the key school-wide decisions, teachers seldom had serious conflict with other teachers over

policy. Policy making was the principal's job and all conflict that arose could be blamed on her. Opportunities for career variety and authority are not valued alike by all teachers, and some research suggests that older teachers with more power in the union structure are more likely to oppose them (Hart, 1992). Principals will be called upon to help redefine the new roles among teachers and to reconceptualize the professional work of school personnel—a heady task. At the same time, all educators will require more understanding and new skills to handle normal and healthy disagreements and conflict over the ways schools are to be governed and run.

2) From Static to Dynamic Job Designs. Teachers are now actively shaping their own work and defining new seats of power and authority at both school and district levels (not to mention the great political power of teachers' organizations at state and national government levels). In so doing, teachers are redefining everyone else's role as well. School Boards, for example, feel increasing pressure from the new professional power base of teachers. The authors in this monograph all point out the challenge of teachers to the traditional legal-bureaucratic authority of school boards and central administration. Legal issues in education may shift from due process concerns to concerns about legal and organizational authority. Educational authorities at federal, state, and local levels may have greater constitutional difficulty in demanding accountability from leaders when their decisions are widely shared with "employees" (i.e., teachers). Hence, shared governance may come under legal scrutiny at the state constitutional level.

Administrator training programs may need to focus on the skills of transitional leadership, acknowledging that major shifts in power and authority require different techniques than the maintenance of stable organizations. The studies in this collection offer views of major shifts in our definition of teacher and teaching toward those that are far more varied and offer more career options than teaching as a career had provided in the past century. Were these insignificant or surface changes, they would not have sparked the level of apprehension and conflict described by the authors. Norms of collegiality, equality, privacy, and support are systematically violate by shared decision-making, peer supervision, leadership governance. Bureaucratic hierarchies are challenged by new constructs of authority and knowledge, and leadership becomes social and interactive rather than an individual, heroic effort. The legal authority vested in school boards may require redefinition and reinterpretation.

3) From Old to New School Structure. Finally, on-going changes in teacher work, roles, and authority may mean that school administrators must use the skills of transitional and transformative leadership over the usual maintenance skills. Once teachers enter the political arena in schools

and take a meaningful role, schools will be changed fundamentally and for years to come. Schools may come to resemble university departments, teaching hospitals, law firms, engineering departments with many if not most key decisions made by teachers themselves.

The decentralized nature of teacher leadership reforms, their closeness to the core tasks of the classroom, and their fundamental redistributive qualities all set them apart from other recent education reforms. These changes place power in the hands of those who teach and promote greater local school autonomy and control.

Implications for the Preparation of School Administrators

Each of the authors described a significant reform in the leadership of teachers and revealed new perspectives on teachers' work that ultimately shaped new structures for schools. Teachers are the core professionals, the adults whose work most affects the outcomes of children and youth who work in schools. In addition to the public debate and policy making of reformers, these changes may effectively restructure the schools themselves.

Departments of educational administration that retain a focus on traditional constructs of school organization and leadership may be left in the dust by these reforms. These departments may even be swallowed up or superseded by leadership departments in colleges of education that divorce themselves from formal designations. Writers in educational administration have long challenged the traditional practice of state certification for a particular administrator role (such as the "principalship" or the "superintendency") and the mentality that drives the curriculum of many programs and the narrow, role-based titles of many of their courses. One recalls courses called "School Boards," "The Principalship," even the "Elementary School Principalship."

Collaboration and Interactive Leadership. As teachers move from isolation to regularized interaction, decision-making, and leadership, administrators must adapt to the same spirit of sharing and participation. Training programs should include explicit models of professional collaboration, conflict management in groups, and professional interaction and communication. The kind of work these students complete in the new training programs also should be different. More group or team work involving teachers, principals, special educators, and other school professionals provides realistic preparation for actual leadership in schools. Opportunities for teachers and administrators to develop group processes, negotiations, conflict management, and leadership skills side-by-side with other educators and laypeople are also needed.

Dynamic Leadership. Preparation programs for school administrators should reflect dynamic rather than static, stable, homeostatic views of leadership (Hart, 1993). Leadership in the environments predicted by the four studies in this monograph is more interactive, changing, and diffuse rather than top-down, closed off from conflict, and inwardly directed. The notion that principals lead and teachers follow is obsolete. Its obsolescence is reflected in an interview with a new principal who lamented: "The teachers just don't understand *my vision* (emphasis added) for this school" (Oliver, 1992, p. 21).

The major changes in the sociology of the teaching profession documented in this monograph also alter the culture of teaching. Norms, beliefs, and values that have remained stable for fifty years are evolving. Another change documented by these studies predicts increased micro-political interaction among teachers, not just between teachers and administrators (Blase, 1991). Negotiated power, coalitions, and bargains struck among teachers over critical questions of teaching and learning in school will be characteristic of adults' work in schools.

Preparation programs should begin with dilemmas in which even "the problem" is negotiated and discovered among participants. Training which includes the knowledge-based curriculum as part of the diagnosis, understanding, and action will better prepare principals for the action-based, interactive reality of schools. These reforms are currently underway and deserve careful attention and study (Leithwood, Hallinger, & Murphy, 1993). School administration students must more frequently recommend and practice action, defend their actions with the knowledge base and understanding of best practice, and predict and experience outcomes as their expertise grows. Teaching techniques such as the Design Study proposed by Schön (1987) in which administration students must present an action plan and defend it to expert practitioners provide experiences more directly relevant to the dynamic, complex nature of leadership in schools that these studies reveal.

Career-Long Professional Development. These studies reveal a future in which educators will be able to plan their own growth and development careers and professional development. They will enjoy alternatives to promotion into formal administration: teachers can become leaders from the home base of their classroom instead of the principal's office or the union presidency. This line of development is a new view of the education career and makes administration just one of many life alternatives. Administrator preparation programs must respond to this new career model with careful attention to turnover and development issues. Administrators will now need more skill in providing time and resources for school site development activities far beyond the old "in-service" and "staff develop-

ment" models. They must also be informed about their own careers, their development and needs as adults at work, and the orchestration of their own and other's career opportunities.

Conclusion

Administrators must somehow influence emerging rules and definitions of social interaction in schools if these leaders are to have any influence over the future nature and structure of schools. The authors describe the tremendous power in the hands of those who can work collaboratively to create and promote new ideas. New roles for teachers have led to increased opportunities for leadership. As Bacharach and others (1990) explained, the time has come to move beyond the simplistic, "monolithic myth" of participation toward specific and strategic domains in which teachers and administrators share in decision-making.

Scholars and teachers of educational administration can and should be active participants in sharing the new structure and forms of schooling in America. The four cases presented in this monograph provide vivid evidence that the time has already come for departments of educational administration to help define the new work world of teacher leadership—major change is no longer in the future but in the here and now.

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